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## A SPIRITUAL CYCLONE: THE MILLERITE DELUSION.

BY MRS. JANE MARSH PARKER, ROCHESTER, N. Y., AUTHOR OF "A MIDNIGHT CRY," ETC.

"EVERY age," says Cardinal Manning, "has hitherto had its heresy. But the nineteenth century has all heresies; it is the century of unbelief." He might have added that religious fanaticism is disappearing; that intensity of spiritual conviction is not a marked feature of the time; and that although the fanatic is an enthusiast—the inflammatory symptoms of his uncontrolled enthusiasm indicating chronic derangement—yet he believes *something*; his creed is not one of mere negations. The fact that the nineteenth century gave birth to a fanaticism like Millerism shows that, in the United States at least, religious fervor had not in the middle of the century become so chilled by indifferentism and unbelief that it might not be fanned into a dangerous flame; and that the stuff of which the martyrs was made is not yet eliminated from this agnostic age.

October 24th, 1844, the fanaticism of Millerism was at its height—was the feature of the times.

For twelve years it had been gaining strength—the last of a long series of similar outbreaks in the history of millenarianism, all based upon the literal interpretation of the prophecy, "Behold, I come quickly."

Millerism had an individuality of its own. It was rooted in mathematical deductions, founded on a literal interpretation of the unfulfilled prophecies of the second coming. It demonstrated as plainly as the simplest rule in mathematics possibly could, that, allowing that the generally accepted rule of biblical interpretation was to be followed, then the final judgment was to take place in the year of our Lord 1843 or 1844. The fixing upon the very day did not come until after the passing by of 1843; then it was clearly revealed to Father Miller and his followers that the mistake had been made by their reckoning Roman time and not

Jewish time. 1843 Roman time was 1844 Jewish time. The grand focalization of all prophecy was upon the tenth day of the seventh month, and at the hour of even. That was the time of the great feast of Atonement. It was reasonable to believe that the great and final atonement would be upon that day.

It is in a study of the leader of this movement—which was no inconsiderable one—that we reach the fairest comprehension of the fanaticism which may be classed among the foremost of those of the nineteenth century.

William Miller was born at Pittsfield, Mass., February 15th, 1782,\* and was a well-to-do farmer of Low Hampton, Washington County, N. Y. When in 1831 he came before the public with his gospel, he was a fair type of a prosperous, intelligent, and highly respected Green Mountain farmer. His two hundred acres of well-cultivated land were unmortgaged, and if there was one man before all others in the community whose common sense, honesty, and reliability were undoubted, that man was William Miller. He had been a captain at the battle of Plattsburg, and his record was a brave one. He had served as constable, sheriff, and justice of the peace in his native town, and was the local poet as well, writing exceptionally good "odes" for special occasions. He was more of a reader than many farmers, and his familiarity with books made him quite an oracle among his neighbors, who, nevertheless, were somewhat disturbed at his reading not only Hume, Voltaire, and Tom Paine, but at his able defence of their doctrines. But in good time he threw them aside and wheeled into the ranks of the Baptist Church, and then, in contrition for quaffing at poisonous springs, he began a most devout and con-

\* There is a life of Miller by White, Battle Creek, Mich., 1873.

sistent study of the Bible, having lost all desire for any other reading. Beginning with Genesis, he made the unfulfilled prophecies his special study. He would not pass a verse that he did not clearly understand by comparison with collateral texts. His concordance and his reference Bible were the only aids he would accept; the spirit of truth should lead him by his private judgment into all truth.

The result was, he rose up from that long and solitary study perfectly convinced that the prophet Daniel had clearly foretold *just when* the world would come to an end. Moreover, he could not doubt but that he had been raised up to warn the world of its impending doom, and what was twelve years for that warning, considering his weakness and the work to be done? "What thou doest, do quickly."

In his search for the truth he had become convinced that the popular doctrine of a temporal millennium before the second coming was fallacious; also that of the return of the Jews to Palestine. The next event in the history of the human race was its final judgment, and that was even at the door.

His theory of interpretation was founded on the established principles of Protestantism, and was in harmony with the popular teaching of orthodoxy. "If I am to be denounced," we find him writing, "for honestly believing in the exactness of prophetic time, then Scott, and Wesley, and the Newtons, and Mede, Gill, and others must be denounced." Spiritual interpretations of the Bible were then looked upon with distrust. Were not Swedenborgianism, Quakerism, and the last new heresy, Universalism, the outcome of a spiritual interpretation? All this, we must remember, was before "evolution," philological research, geological discovery, and a study of comparative theologies and Oriental sacred literatures had dug among the roots of old traditions. There was then little or no questioning of the infallibility of the writers of the sacred books—scarcely that of the translators and compilers. The six days of creation meant six literal days. The serpent of Eden was a veritable snake; a suggestion of Oriental allegory or mythological tradition would have been denounced as atheism. And so with every detail of prophetic and apocalyptic allusion to the final judgment. The literal falling of a shower of stars upon this little planet was none too much for the faith of those who, like St. Augustine, rejoiced in a faith that could accept what was beyond reason. The hymnology of the

period was in full harmony with such interpretation. William Miller's "Dream of the Last Day," one of his earliest publications, was colorless compared with the *Dies Ire* of the poets.

It cost him a painful struggle to submit to the voice commanding him to go forth and proclaim "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh!" A license to preach was at once given him by the Baptist Church at Low Hampton, but he was never ordained; not, however, because of any opposition, for he met nothing like that at the outset of his career.

He began preaching his gospel, or, to use the vernacular of the movement, "sounding the midnight cry" in the little country churches around Low Hampton. His old friends and neighbors flocked to hear him, and he met with little dissent from his teaching. His humble demeanor, earnest convictions, and simple eloquence won many converts. To hear him, with the majority, was to believe. His charts demonstrated everything. Upon those charts were rude and highly colored drawings of the apocalyptic beasts, Nebuchadnezzar's image, the great dragon, etc.; all surrounded by dates and biblical texts; a powerful attraction to the scoffers even, who, much as they might jeer at the zoological eccentricities, could not detect a mathematical blunder in the "sums" of addition and subtraction, which brought but one "answer"—1843.

Wherever he gave a course of lectures on the prophecies—and he could not begin to respond to the calls from many of the Protestant communions—great revivals were the result. Multitudes pressed to hear him. His fame spread through the land, and he was soon invited to Boston and New York, where he lectured before immense audiences. In two years the foundations of Millerism were well laid; prominent clergymen were preaching "the '43 doctrine;" nor were the converts confined to the illiterate and uncultivated. Several weekly journals were published, with a large and increasing circulation. From Boston, New York, and Rochester, N. Y., the literature of the movement was scattered broadcast over the land.

But there came a turn in the tide of William Miller's popularity; orthodoxy at last gave him and his disciples the cold shoulder. The change came about suddenly, and as early as 1842, if not before. It was not from anything William Miller had said or done, but from the zeal of his followers, who, having discovered that the Babylon of Holy Writ was the type of the churches in

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the last days, began calling the churches which did not proclaim the speedy coming by the name of Babylon—singing hymns in which this idea was clearly emphasized. One of them wound up each verse with a jubilant chorus: "Babylon is fallen—is fallen to rise no more." It began with:

"When I was down in Egypt's land,  
I heard my Saviour was at hand—"

To become a convert was called coming out of Babylon; and terrible were the woes predicted for those whose pride made them linger within its doomed and falling walls. The profusion of disagreeable scriptural epithets bestowed upon Babylon naturally aroused resentment, and the rupture was at once pronounced. The doors of the churches were closed against Father Miller and his preachers, and his converts assembled in public halls as a rule, the largest halls of the great cities being too small for the crowds that pressed to the daily and nightly meetings as the time of the end drew near.

The press of the country, as a rule, gave fair reports of the fanaticism, some of the journals giving it a special column. The believers in the doctrine soon numbered some fifty thousand, not including the many who believed and trembled in secret. Orthodoxy did not dispute the near and literal second coming. It was fixing the time that it denounced as contrary to the declaration of Holy Writ—"of that day and hour knoweth no man." This difficulty was cleared away for the believers at least by the explanation that by searching the Scriptures the believer was to *know*, could not help knowing when the Lord was nigh. "When ye see these things, *know*." Could they help knowing what they saw, what they could work out like a mathematical problem?

"Father Miller" he was called by his followers. He had aged prematurely from a stroke of palsy, which made him tremulous. He had a rosy, kindly face, shrewd, twinkling blue eyes, which could read character unerringly. The many cranks and impostors that were the barnacles of the delusion did not deceive him. His power was in his strong mellow voice and earnest manner, making his most cultivated hearers to forget his homely phraseology and provincial pronunciation. His epistles to his followers remind one of the greetings of St. Paul to the elect. He wrote verses occasionally upon the speedy coming or subjects related to it, and many volumes of his lectures were published. He dreamed marvellous dreams, of which he told the interpretation thereof. He charged nothing for lecturing upon the

prophecies, to which his whole time was given, but he gratefully accepted as a free offering the payment of his travelling expenses.

The keystone of William Miller's gospel was the prophecy of Daniel—"Write the vision and make it plain upon tables . . . it will surely come; it will not tarry." The point of his argument was the connection between the seventy weeks of Daniel and the 2300 days. Therein was the revelation of the exact time of the end.

To any one inclined to enter into a fair controversy he would say:

"Open your Bible. That is to be your teacher alone. Now read the first three verses of the twelfth chapter of Daniel."

(1) "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

(2) "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

(3) "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

"Now read the sixth verse," Father Miller would say.

"And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?"

"What wonders? The resurrection, of course. How long will it be to the resurrection? A time, times and a half. That's plain enough. Who swore it would be that? Our Lord Jesus Christ. Now if Christ Himself, in answer to the question, How long shall it be to the resurrection? has sworn with an oath that it shall be for a time, times and a half, is not that telling *just when* it will be? What is meant by a time, times and a half? Read the sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of Revelations.

"And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days."

"Now read the fourteenth verse."

"And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, times and a half."

"Now those two verses," Father Miller would say, "refer to the same period of time. It is the same as the 1260 days. The same period is presented under different forms in several places. . . . Times, times and a half is 1260 days. Allow thirty days to a month, and twelve months to a year, and we have three and a half years, equal to 1260 days. Has not God revealed the time in days that must pass before the resurrection? How do we know how to reckon those days? Read Daniel vii. 25.

"And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hands until a time, times and dividing of times."

Here he made plain that the time mentioned was the time of the continuance of the saints in the power of the "little horn." The little horn meant the papacy. Time, times and dividing of times was a period of the same length wherever spoken of in Scripture. Could it mean 1260 literal days, when the persecution of the saints had been far longer than that? If not 1260 literal days, what then?

Read Numbers xiv. 34:

"\* \* \* Forty days, each day for a year."

Now Ezekiel iv. 6:

"\* \* \* I have appointed thee each day for a year."

Admitting that days meant years, it was easy proving how the 70 weeks were fulfilled in 490 years, as many years as there were days in the 70 weeks . . . 1260 years from the time the decree of Justinian went into effect A.D. 538 to 1798, when the papacy was subverted by Napoleon. The time sworn to by Christ Himself meant the 1260 years. . . . The 2300 days and the four great kingdoms bring us down to the end, A.D. 1843. All the great events in the history of God's dealing with His people were preceded by special warning. Daniel knew by books *just when* the captivity of his people would end. So they were to know by books *just when* the days of the little horn were numbered, when the saints should possess the kingdom.

"If you can make a calculation with the prophetic Numbers," Father Miller would say—"a calculation based on a true interpretation that does not show you that 1843 is to see the end of the world, I should like to see that calculation."

"The tenth day excitement," as it was called, and notably the summer preceding that memorable October, was an experience, for the children of the Millerites at least,

which they never forgot. "Can any of my readers imagine" (I quote from "A Little Millerite," published in *The Century*, December, 1886) "what it was for a child truly to believe that at any moment, terribly near at the latest, there would come that fearful upheaval of the earth, that fiery rending apart of the heavens, and in the indescribable confusion of angelic trumpets and the shrieking of the damned God Himself would descend with a great shout to burn up the world, the sea, and the dry land? That was a faith sapping the well-springs of a child's joy. . . ."

As '43 had gone by, so did the tenth day, and the seventh month, and the year of jubilee, and still the vision tarried. And yet thousands of the disappointed continued to meet together, holding fast to their faith. The most of them had impoverished themselves for "the cause." Thousands of unsown acres that summer had testified to their belief that there would never be another harvest. Men of means had stripped themselves of their "filthy lucre," and concealed crimes had been confessed by converts to the faith. Of course the wreck was pitiful—the wreck of faith most pitiful of all. Many were the fanatical offshoots of the delusions, some surviving to this day. Leaders claiming supernatural gifts were plentiful, while individual interpretation of Scripture created many warring factions among those who had been brethren. Some drifted to the Shakers—it was transfusion of new blood for that fanaticism—while others went back to Babylon. But the majority did not forsake Father Miller, who was firm as ever in his faith, and at his call the remnant assembled in Albany, April 25th, 1845, and agreed upon a declaration of faith and the name of *Adventist*.

"There was no mistake in the prophecies," maintained Father Miller to the last. "Chronology was at fault."

But Christendom had learned a lesson, nevertheless. The delusion had its mission, leading to a better understanding of the Scriptures.

Father Miller died December 20th, 1849, aged 68 years. Upon his monument in the graveyard at Low Hampton is inscribed:

"But go thy way until the end be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

In closing this paper, which has left many of the notable features of the movement unmentioned, let me try once more to correct the popular fallacy that the Millerites were generally provided with ascension robes. I confess I have given up the hope of uproot-

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ing that cherished fallacy, but I will continue to contradict it, all the same. My father was a leader in the movement. If any one had the facts upon this subject of ascension robes, he had. Father Miller did his best to disprove the ascension robe report, but the public would believe such stories in spite of evidence to the contrary. He requested, through the journals of the movement, that any one who could find such a garment should let him know the name of the owner, sending it to him if possible. A thorough search was made for ascension robes in that summer of '44 by leaders of the fanaticism, but nothing was found. The ascension robe which my father was charged with having proved to be his long night-shirt, and which had been seen on our clothes-line. But denial of ascension robes is all in vain. It will pass into the history of the movement that the believers all had them—long white garments, in which they arrayed themselves and went to the graveyards on the night of the tenth day of the seventh month.

"Each religious doctrine," wrote Theodore Parker, "has sometime stood for a truth . . . it has imperfectly accomplished its purpose. . . . Religious history is a tale of confusion. But looking deeper, we see it is a series of developments all tending toward one great and beautiful end, the harmonious perfection of man. Each form may perish, but its truth never dies."

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FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

### THE FIRST SIX CHAPTERS OF DANIEL.

BY FRANÇOIS LENORMANT. TRANSLATED FROM HIS "MAGIE UND WAHRHAGENKUNST," BY REV. CHARLES SYMINGTON, LITCHFIELD, CONN.

THE remarkable harmony between the recorded visions of the Assyrian kings and Nebuchadnezzar's dreams can hardly fail to strike us as significant. The influence which the former, according to the official annals, exerted on even the most weighty affairs of State, finds its perfect parallel in the importance which Nebuchadnezzar attached to his dreams, the eagerness with which he questioned his soothsayers, and the honor given to the young Hebrew who had been admitted to the ranks of the Chaldean literati, but who surpassed them all in sagacity and eloquence. These con-

siderations lend to the Book of Daniel a true Babylonian color, and such consistency with the characteristics of the time, as revealed in history, as must very materially raise our estimate of its value.

Notwithstanding this, as has been said, no Old Testament book has been so universally condemned by the Rationalistic exegetes, even the most moderate of them, as the Book of Daniel. Critics of this school are unanimous in denying to it an older origin, and see in it only an apocalyptic writing composed during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the religious persecution under him. Some, indeed, go so far as to set a specific year for its composition—167 B.C.

Now I must grant that the defence from the side of the orthodox writers has been hitherto of the weakest character. At least a part of the arguments adduced by Von Corrodi, Eichhorn, Berthold, Jahn, Gesenius, de Wette, Ewald, and Hitzig has never yet been answered. I, too, formerly adopted this view, and have repeatedly advanced the same in my writings, as far, at least, as my personal convictions as a Christian permitted; for, on the one hand, it seemed to me that the judgment of the Rationalistic exegetes disturbed nothing that need be deemed essential to the Christian faith in general, and, on the other hand, I was of opinion that the religious value of the Old Testament Scriptures is in no sense involved in questions concerning their often doubtful authorship and still more doubtful dates.

The Messianic prophecy of the seventy weeks is just as wonderful in a writing of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to human apprehension as unaccountable as in a writing of a date shortly after Nebuchadnezzar. To destroy their value, it must at least be shown that the prophecies of Daniel are the work of a Christian writer, and this has not been even attempted as yet. The reasons which now impel me to change my former view and to adopt the declarations of the Talmud\* as to the date of the composition of Daniel are solely of a scientific nature and are based upon a study of the cuneiform texts, for these latter offer the most important data not only for a correct judgment concerning the book itself, but also as to the strength or weakness of the relative exegetical views.

If in what follows I deal only with the historical chapters, i.-vi., and pass over the apocalyptic and prophetic visions of

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\* Bava bathra, fol. 146.

chaps. vii.-xii., it is only because these two portions of the book are in fact distinguished from each other by their whole purpose and character, and were only later bound together as one whole without having been thoroughly harmonized.\* As to this last opinion I concur fully with the views of Eichhorn and Berthold, for that both parts show such a harmony as would indicate one composer for the whole appears to me by no means as certain as de Wette and Hitzig maintain.

Between the two parts of the book I find only a spiritual harmony, and believe that at the time of the composition of the second part the first part was already in existence, and was known, and that, moreover, when the two parts were united feeble efforts were perhaps made to produce a general harmony and uniformity in the whole work.

I shall consequently limit my examination to this portion of the book, not indeed to lighten my labors, nor yet because I would, so to speak, throw overboard the visions of the last chapters, but solely because the distinctive characteristics of the two parts do not permit me to examine them both at the same time and from one and the same point of view. The question concerning the age of the first six chapters belongs exclusively to science and historical criticism, and hence can be decided without reference to the religious point of view, whether of partisan or opponent. A discussion of the visions of the last six chapters would, on the contrary, involve me in the most delicate questions in the sphere of philosophy and faith, demanding especially a discriminating expression of view as to whether in general a prophet, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is able to predict the future, and therefore I should hardly be able to avoid allowing my investigations and conclusions to reflect my individual religious convictions.

## II.

It should be noted, first of all, that of all the Old Testament writings not one comes to us in a more imperfect condition than the Book of Daniel. An examination of the LXX. shows, at first glance, that the Alexandrian translators of the time of Ptolemy had before them a text which differed greatly from that which is found in our present Hebrew Bibles, and that furthermore this last has arisen solely through the interweaving of parts of different texts.

Chaps. i. and viii.-xii., which are obviously drawn from the original text, are written in an Aramaized Hebrew which strongly recalls that of the time of the later prophets immediately after the captivity (an appearance which may be explained on the supposition that it was the work of "an aged scribe, who was living among the Aramaeans" \*). On the other hand, the lost chapters, ii.-vii., have been supplied from a pure Aramaic translation, the language of which certainly points to the time subsequent to Alexander, since it uses such Greek words as *κιδαρίς*, *σαμβύκη*, *ψαλτήριον*, *συμφώνια*.†

Merx holds that the composer intentionally selected the Aramaic tongue—as being that of the people—for those portions of his work which he wrote especially for the people, while the apocalyptic portions, designed for those of a broader culture, were written intentionally in Hebrew, the language of the learned. This supposition is, however, contradicted by the fact that the first chapter, so necessary for the understanding of the whole, and of a purely popular nature, is in Hebrew, while the seventh, which is purely apocalyptic, is in Aramaic. And since it is absolutely inconceivable that the writer should, without any reason and out of pure capriciousness, suddenly change his language—actually changing in the middle of a verse—this change can, therefore, only be explained in this way—viz., that certain lost portions of the original text were supplied from a translation which con-

\* Th. Noldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 227.

† iii. 5 and 15. The use of Greek words may in some measure be accounted for by the relations existing between the Greeks and Assyria and Babylonia in the eighth and seventh centuries, B.C., as indicated by the cuneiform texts and other sources of information. Sargon called the waters about Cyprus "The Sea of Javan," or Ionia. Sennacherib, who encountered the Greeks in Cilicia, erected there a memorial of his victory (Berosus in Euseb. Chron., Armen. ed. Mai, p. 20). Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal mention among their tributaries several Greek kings of the Isle of Cyprus. It was probably one of these kings, Pythagoras, who already, under Sennacherib, commanded a detachment of the Greek mercenaries of the Ninevite conqueror, and later was confounded with the philosopher of the same name (Berosus, Frag. xii. ed. C. Müller; Abydenus, Frag. vii. ed. C. Müller). A brother of the poet, Alcæus, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar or one of his immediate successors, made himself renowned to the utmost limits of the earth by giving help to the Babylonians (Alc., Frag. xxxiii. ed. Bergk). A cameo of Greek workmanship, recovered from Asia Minor and preserved in the Berlin Museum (Comp. Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, vol. iii. p. 51), is inscribed with a legend in cuneiform, according to which it is dedicated by Nebuchadnezzar to Maraduk. The artistic execution points, however, to the rival of Darius Hystaspes rather than to the conqueror of Jerusalem. The relations which these data indicate do not, however, appear to me to be sufficiently important and continuous to account for the introduction of Greek words among the Babylonians. In the cuneiform texts Greek words, as e.g. *στράνη*, appear first in the time of the Seleucids, and indeed only in the private documents dating in the time of these kings. The presence of Greek words, which might, indeed, be accounted interpolations, can, however, hardly be held as alone indicative of a date posterior to the Aramaic portion of the book, which I regard as merely a later translation of an older Hebrew text. The cumulation of all these philological data ought at least to be considered as of substantial weight in the solution of the problem.

\* Comp., e.g., i., 21 with x. 1.

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tained them, and were embodied without change of language. The correctness of this hypothesis receives a striking confirmation from that marginal note (which before the making of the LXX. translation had been incorporated in the text) in chap. ii. 4, and which marks the borrowed portion—*i.e.*, from chap. ii. 4 to the beginning of chap. viii. We should not read, as formerly: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in the Syrian language, O King, live forever," etc. The far more correct rendering is: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king."

(Aramaic) "O King, live forever," etc.

By this rendering is also refuted that absurd and unfounded idea that the Chaldeans could have used the Aramaic tongue, an idea which, as is well known, has been repeatedly advanced and has given rise to many errors.\*

In the Book of Ezra, where a similar change of language occurs, the long Aramaic passage introduced (extending from chap. iv. 8-vi. 18) is likewise marked by a similar gloss, which has been incorporated in the text. The seventh verse (chap. iv.) as at present reads: "And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes, king of Persia; and the writing of the letter was written in the Syrian (character), and set forth in the Syrian (tongue)" (R. V.). It should, however, obviously be joined with verse 8 and be translated thus: "And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, . . .," and the letter was written in Aramaic and accompanied by a translation.

(Aramaic) "Rehum the chancellor," etc.

Furthermore, several of the proper names which our present text of Daniel mentions have arisen through obvious errors of the copyists; as *e.g.*, Nebuchadnezzar (Nabukudur-ri-usur), an erroneous form, which has also crept into the books of Kings and Chronicles, while Jeremiah† and Ezra‡ alone preserve the true reading, Nebuchadrezzar. We also find "Abed-Nego" instead of "Abed-Nebo" and "Belshazzar" instead of "Belsharazzar" (Bel-sar-ussur). The name "Meshach," which was borne by one of Daniel's companions, has apparently arisen through a like corruption of a primitive form; perhaps Mischa(marda)ch,§ in

which the last portion of the Jewish name "Mischaël" was replaced by the name of a Babylonian god.

I believe, also, that the foreign-sounding name "Shadrach" can by slight changes be transformed into a genuine Babylonian name.\*

In like manner the discrepancy between chap. i. 5 and ii. 1 may be attributed entirely to the transcriber, since in all probability the text of the second passage originally read simply "In the second year"—*i.e.*, the second year after Daniel had left the school of the Chaldeans; and this at a later period was altered to "in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar."

A few attempts to amend the text appear also to have been made, which, although doubtless well intended, have nevertheless resulted most unfortunately in the disfigurement of our already imperfect text—*e.g.*, the gross error in chap. i. 1, where the third year of Jehoiakim's reign is given as the date of the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas the latter mounted his throne only in the fourth year of the former's reign.† This can hardly be explained except as an attempt to amend the original and perhaps not strictly correct figures by the text of 2 Kings xxiv. 1, the meaning of which was obviously misunderstood.

Further, I am of the opinion that, in a similar manner, the name "Ahasuerus," the customary Hebrew transcription of the name "Xerxes," has been introduced in chap. ix. 1, while in the original text the corresponding transcription of the Persian "Uvakh-satra," the original of the name "Cyaxares," may have stood.‡

That alterations and indeed corruptions of the text are found in the Book of Daniel must be evident to every clear-sighted investigator. Indeed, one or the other of these could only be excluded on the supposition that a special divine miracle has protected every word and letter of the sacred writings from disfigurement and damage of that kind, albeit a single glance at the Hebrew Bible, with its "Qeri" and "Chetib," makes it obvious that this miracle has in fact not occurred. Since, however, the exegetes out of precisely such de-

where Assurbanipal has similarly become Asnapper אסנפר [אסר(ב)נפ].

\* The Elamitish name "Sutruk" or "Sudruk," which is the exact equivalent of שדרוך, and appears to have been at this time naturalized in Babylon, may indeed have been the original.

† 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxv. 1.

‡ אֲחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ replaced אֲחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ, having first passed through a paleographically legitimate change, to אֲחַשְׁוֶרֶי, which form was, through unskillful hands, totally ruined.

\* That J. Halévy should have advanced this opinion recently is only another indication of the degree of competency which may be claimed by this dogmatic and obscure judge of Assyriologists and Assyriology.

† xlili. 10.

‡ li. 1.

§ The conjecture that מִשַּׁח is a corruption of מִשַּׁחֲמַרְדָּא receives support from an analogous example in Ezra (iv. 10),

fects adduce almost all of their conjectures as to the date of Daniel—those at least which do not grow out of a preconceived opinion as to the impossibility of prophecy and miracle—then we must bring forward the fact that of all these corruptions not one transcends the customary limits of disfigurement, to which even the best texts have been liable at the hands of copyists. The MSS. of many of the Greek writers have been far more corrupted without having their authenticity called in question on that account. With them criticism is directed to the elimination of errors and the restoration, as far as may be possible, of their original aspect. A satisfactory examination and critique of the Book of Daniel would likewise be legitimately possible only after all the corruptions and errors found in the text at present before us had been most carefully fixed. And for this obviously the contemporary records of the recovered cuneiform inscriptions are unquestionably of the most vital importance.

### III.

The Book of Daniel contains several historical statements which are not found in any other writings, sacred or profane, but which are yet substantiated by the testimony of the cuneiform records—*e.g.*, it is now certainly proved by means of a prism,\* discovered at Mugheir (the ancient "Ur"), and at present on exhibition in the British Museum, that the independent native king, "Nabonahid," † actually had a son and co-regent named "Belsarussur" (Belshazzar). Again, when I find in a fragment of Abydenus (the abbreviator of Berosus) the strange story of Nebuchadnezzar's death, and find in it a hint concerning the part which, at the conquest of Babylon, was played by a certain Median, "who was renowned even to the borders of Syria," ‡ I cannot resist the belief that the reference here is to that Median "Darius" concerning whom so many conjectures have been made. For that the author of Daniel through ignorance confounded Darius Hystaspes with Cyrus is utterly incredible. He speaks of the latter repeatedly in the most exact manner, and he is quite familiar with the distinction between Medes and Persians. If, therefore, he asserts that the Darius in

question was a Mede, obviously he would not have made such an assertion without reason.

Moreover, nothing is more probable than that Cyrus should have rewarded the Mede who assisted him in the capture of the city by making him temporarily its vice-king.\*

And I find this conjecture in a measure confirmed by the fact that in the cuneiform records of Babylonia and Chaldea Cyrus is called "King of Babylon, King of Nations" for the first time only after the third year subsequent to the capture of the city, while in records of the first and second years he bears only the title "King of Nations."

All proper names which have not through error of the copyist been too seriously corrupted are readily recognized as Babylonian, such, therefore, as could not have been invented in Palestine in the second century B.C., as *e.g.*, "Balatsu-usur" † (guard his life), as Daniel was called. So also "Abad-Nabu," ‡ the name given to one of Daniel's companions. As regards the name of the chief of the eunuchs (in the Hebrew text אֲשַׁמֶּנֶרֶן) this must obviously have lost a final "r," since the LXX. retains the "r" while omitting another letter, Ἀβασσέρη or Ἀβασσέρη—that is, אֲבַנְרִי.

The correct form of this name must, therefore, have been either אֲשַׁמֶּנֶרֶן or אֲשַׁמְנֶרֶן as a comparison of the variants אֲשַׁמֶּנֶרֶן and אֲבַנְרִי shows which is an exact transcription of the frequently recurring name "Assa-ibni-zir" ¶ (the goddess \*\* has moulded the germ). Other names are far more disfigured, nevertheless not one among them is found so suggestive of other periods

\* If the reading which I have suggested for chap. ix. 1 be accepted as correct, then this Median "Darius" was the son of a certain Cyaxares, and doubtless that one whose son—the Median claimant—who revolted against Darius—claimed to be. According to Xenophon Astyages had as successor upon the Median throne a Cyaxares II. while Herodotus represents this Median kingdom as having been abolished by Cyrus immediately after Cyrus's victory over Astyages. Clearly all that Xenophon recounts as to the relations between Cyrus and this new Cyaxares is obviously incredible. On the other hand, however, that which the Behistun inscription records concerning the Median Phraortes who represented himself as Xathrites, son of Cyaxares, makes it difficult to consider as a pure fable the existence of a person of this name who lived later than Astyages, and who may have worn the crown temporarily as Cyrus's vassal.

† Comp. Schrader, Die Keilenschriften und das Alte Testament, p. 278.

‡ W. A. I., iii. 46; Col. i. 82.

§ The substitution of "p" for "b" in speech and writing is frequent—*e.g.*, "abal" "son" becomes first "bal," then "pal" in the Bible פֶּלֶר. This permutation is likewise shown by the root בָּנָה in the two parallel forms of the name of the same goddess "Zir-banit" and "Zir-panit."

¶ Written in the examples with which I am familiar—ideographically, AN. XV. KAK. zir.

\* For the reading "Assa" for the name of the goddess AN. XV. and its transcription in the Semitic alphabet אֲסָא or even אֲסָא, compare W. A. I., iii. 46. 3 and 6. The verb following the name of the goddess stands frequently in the masculine. In the present instance it may also be in the imperative, Asea-bani-zir, "Goddess form the germ."

\*\* Istar of Nineveh.

\* Comp. W. A. I., i. 68. 1.

† It is indeed true that the text speaks of his father, Nebuchadnezzar (v. 2, 11 and 18). The word "father," however, is used in Assyrian text with a great latitude to denote ancestors, and even predecessors, *e.g.* In the inscription upon the obelisk at Nimrud Jehu is called "the son of Omri."

‡ Abydenus, Frag. 9, ed. C. Müller.



or peoples as to cause serious question. The name "Arioch," which might arouse suspicion, I will consider later.

The topography is not less worthy of remark on account of its accuracy. The references in chap. iv. to the royal palace of Nebuchadnezzar are strictly accurate. In like manner, the "Plain of Dura," in the province of Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar caused the image to be set up for the adoration of the people, is a locality directly contiguous to the city of Babylon, and to this day bears the same name. Finally, it is not without interest to compare these various aspects of the Book of Daniel with the Book of Judith, since the latter is utterly without historical character, and can only be regarded as an allegorical romance of the times of the Maccabees.\* Here we meet with an Assyrian king who never existed, a Ninevite Nebuchadnezzar, who in the twelfth year of his reign (in the country of an equally unknown Elamite king, "Arioch,"† and more definitely on a plain watered at once by the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indian "Hydaspes,"‡ and precisely at the time when Elam had lost its independence) subdues a Median king, whose Semitic name, "Arphaxad," is simply borrowed from the chronological table in Gen. x. After overcoming the Median, the Assyrian king goes on to conquer the world. His general (with a Persian name, "Holofernes," Urufranu) in a fabulous campaign overcomes the whole of Syria, and finally reaches the land of Judah, where he lays siege to an utterly unknown city called allegorically "Betheloh" (house of God), which is at length surrendered by a woman called "Judith" (literally, Jewess). We move here in an involved whirl of inventions and poetical fantasies, which serve the author only as a frame for a collection of admonitory moralizings, which indeed give its only value to the work.§

In the Book of Daniel, on the contrary, all the characters are drawn with as minute fidelity to historical accuracy as those of the court of Xerxes in the Book of Esther.\*

#### IV.

The more often I read the Book of Daniel and compare it with the cuneiform records, the more striking seems the fidelity of the picture given by the first six chapters

be assumed that the overthrow of Arphaxad was indeed that of Phraortes, then still new contradictions and impossibilities are presented, for the events must then have occurred in the time of King Josiah, during which an Assyrian invasion unknown to the books of Kings and Chronicles can hardly have taken place. Furthermore, "Jehoiakim," as the Book of Judith calls the high priest, was certainly not, according to the authentic list, the name of the high priest in Josiah's time. Moreover, the passage in which is related how this high priest "Jehoiakim," in accordance with "the counsel of the children of Israel," came out of Jerusalem to see Judith (in Greek text xv. 8; Jerome xv. 9) points to a state of affairs such as existed after the return from the Captivity, but did not exist during the time of the Kings (iv. 8. according to which the high priest and the council were the exclusive rulers). Finally the probability of the historical coincidence in question disappears utterly if we examine the Greek text of the first chapter, which is by far more complete than the Latin.

According to the Greek text, Arphaxad suffered two defeats, one in the twelfth year and the other in the seventeenth year, with which no known event can be harmonized.

That Josephus, moreover, when writing his history, does not make use of Judith (although, as the Epistle of Clem. Rom. shows, it was current just at that time) can only be explained on the ground that he considered it without historical value.

The Jews in general, as Origen relates, did not include Judith in the canon of their scriptures, because no Hebrew or Aramaic text of it was in existence. They were, however, perfectly familiar with the history of Judith, and moreover, their tradition, reaching back to the time of the Talmud, declares that the events related occurred in the time of the Maccabees, and that the enemies with whom Judith was brought in contact were Greeks. This is made evident not only by Jellinek's "Beth-Na-Midrash" (translated into German by Lipsius, vol. x. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, Hildesfeld), but also by the fact that the day on which Judith's heroism was commemorated (xvi. 11, Jerome's version) corresponds exactly with the thirteenth Adar, on which the conquest and death of Nicanor, the general of Demetrius Soter, was commemorated with rejoicing (comp. 1 Macc. vii. 49; 2 Macc. xv. 37).

It would be clearly idle to pursue further the examination of this Jewish tradition. Achior's narrative of the history of the Jews—the Exile, the Captivity and return, the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple—is too circumstantial and unambiguous to be otherwise understood. Finally I note a similarity in many respects striking between the Assyrian Nebuchadnezzar of the Book of Judith and Antiochus Epiphanes.

1. Nebuchadnezzar demands that divine honors be accorded him by the people.

Antiochus calls himself Θεός Επιφανής upon his coins.

2. Nebuchadnezzar's rage is directed particularly against the temples of all peoples, which he gives over to pillage.

In like manner, Antiochus wished to pillage the Temple of Nanea in Elam of its treasures, as he had pillaged the Temple at Jerusalem.

3. The former extended his claim to dominion beyond the borders of Syria even to Egypt, just as the latter manifested the design of similar robberies, until Poppus, in the name of the Roman Senate, forced him to desist.

4. Nebuchadnezzar overcame Arphaxad, the founder of the Median Empire, taking Ecbatana, the Median capital, and making Arphaxad his prisoner.

Antiochus overcame Artaxata, the founder of the Armenian kingdom, making him a prisoner of war, and captured his capital, Artaxata. The assumption of the two names seems obviously intentional on the part of the author of Judith.

The opinion of those who maintain with Volkmar, Hitzig, and Oppert, that Judith is a product of the times of the Romans, cannot, however, be correct, since it is cited by St. Clement, and furthermore, the mention of the Edomites as enemies of the Jews shows that the book originated before the time of John Hyrcanus. Finally the question as to whether the book has or has not positive historical value in no degree affects its canonicity as asserted by the Church. Intentional changes of names are certainly not lacking. We have here only to recall the 1st Epistle of Peter, where the name Babylon is substituted for that of Rome.

\* Concerning the Book of Esther, compare Oppert, "Annales de philosophie chrétienne," January, 1864.

\* Comp. Oppert in "Annuaire de la Société d'Ethnographie, 1895."

† Taken from Gen. xi. 1 and 9.

‡ St. Jerome substitutes here the name of an unknown river, "Iadasos." Some have seen a justification of this in the fact that Q. Curtius calls "the Hydaspes" the "Choaspes." This was only to explain one error by another.

§ A century ago Freret maintained that the Book of Judith could not be counted among those scriptures which rest upon a historical basis.

As we examine the Book of Judith more closely, it seems almost as if its author had in mind the overthrow of the Median king Phraortes by the Assyrians, which, according to Herodotus, coincided with the twelfth year (Chiniaden) of the Ptolemaic Canon, i.e. with the twelfth year of Assurbanipal's reign in Babylon, after the death of his brother Samulsumyukin. Nevertheless, this must always remain doubtful, since the overthrow of Phraortes could be held to have occurred in the twelfth year of the Ptolemaic Canon only, if the chronology of Herodotus is by a somewhat artificial computation made to harmonize with that of the Alexandrian astronomers. Still more doubtful does it appear in view of the fact that the twelfth year of Assurbanipal's reign in Babylon was in reality the thirty-second of his reign in Assyria. If in spite of this it

of the Babylonian court, and the superstitions of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and the more strongly am I impressed with the conviction that at least this portion of the book was written in Babylon itself, and not far from the time of the events related, and so the more impracticable and incorrect it seems to me to transfer its origin to a date as late as that of Antiochus Epiphanes. Can it be supposed that an author living in Palestine about the year 167 B.C. could have been so familiar with the importance which the Chaldeans and Babylonians attached to dreams, or could have known so exactly the influence which this superstition exercised over the whole conduct of the king in just that period in which he places his narrative? For this he must, indeed, have possessed an extremely profound knowledge of the past and such an extraordinary power of graphic delineation, as will be sought in vain among the extant literary remains of the ancients. From what source could such an author have drawn the material for his admirable delineation of the Babylon court, or have derived such an accurate impression that Babylon was, at the time of its fall, an ecclesiastical as well as a civil state, and in point of fact was ruled by a priest-king, Sakka-nakku—"Vicar of the Gods"? History, familiar as he might have been with it, would only have taught him that that peculiar characteristic came into special prominence with that dynasty which arose from the priestly caste of the Chaldeans, and was founded by Nabopolassar. From the same source he might also have inferred that Nebuchadnezzar, according to the local tradition of Babylon (from which even such historians as Berossus drew), enjoyed the reputation of being a seer and prophet;\* but the details which the Book of Daniel gives as to the organization of the priestly and learned castes, the fact that five distinct literary castes existed, corresponding exactly with the classification of the sacred books concerning astrology, magic, and soothsaying—these facts it would have been as impossible for him to have learned in such a manner as would have been the fact that for this branch of sacred science a special language was taught in the schools—the Akkadian—which rightly deserves the name "the tongue of the Chaldeans."†

It is, moreover, incredible that an author of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes could have been so accurately informed concerning the old customs, as to the education of

youth selected from the hostages of subdued nations and appointed to "stand before the king." According to an inscription of Sennacherib, youths thus selected were, in fact, brought up like "pet dogs" (kissamirani) in the royal palace. One of these (Bel ibus) was even appointed vassal king of Babylon.\*

That the names given to the musical instruments in chap. iii. (the horn, the flute, and perhaps also the sambuca† excepted) are Greek, serves at most only to indicate the time when the Aramaic translation was made; otherwise the author, separated by four centuries from the events described, must have been a scholar of exceptional ability, such as that age could hardly have produced, for he must have had accurate knowledge of the fact that instrumental music, which had been almost entirely neglected under the first Assyrian kings, became precisely from the seventh century on one of the most important features of all public religious ceremonies in Assyria and Babylonia.

Under Assurnazirpal the rôle of the musician was entirely subordinate. They had only three instruments: a kind of harp, which was held horizontally and played with a plectrum; a lyre, played with the hand, and the cymbals.‡ On the other hand, under the Sargonides, musicians are constantly represented on the bas-reliefs, and are repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions. They had knowledge, moreover, of at least ten different instruments, some of which are evidently of foreign origin,§ as e.g., the Syrian "kinnor,"|| the double pipe,¶ from Asia Minor,\*\* and the seven-stringed zither,†† which was doubtless a Grecian invention.‡‡

Furthermore, the author of Daniel must have been well informed as to the nature of the death penalty inflicted upon blasphemers, as is evident from chap. iii.; for, as we learn from the pictorial representations upon the recovered memorials of that age, delinquents of that class were in fact sub-

\* Layard, *Inscriptions* tab. lxiii., l. 14.

† Apparently from the root קָנַע. It must, therefore, have come to the Greeks from the Semites, and could not have been taken by the author of the Aramaic text from the Greeks.

‡ G. Rawlinson, "The Five Great Monarchies," 2d ed. vol. i. p. 329.

§ The introduction of foreign musical instruments occurred chiefly through prisoners of war, who were forced to entertain their victors with their playing. This is expressly declared concerning the Jews in Babylon in Ps. 137.

G. Rawlinson, as above, vol. i. p. 530.

¶ Id., p. 534.

\*\* Athen., iv. 184; Plut. de Mus., 1135.

†† G. Rawlinson, as above, vol. i. p. 533.

‡‡ Euclid., *Introd. harmon.*, p. 19; Strabo xiii. 618; Clem. Alex. *Stromat.*, vi. p. 814. The invention of the zither is attributed to Terpander about 650 B.C. It appears upon the monuments first during Assurbanipal's reign, 668-625. The coincidence of these dates is at least striking.

\* Abydenus, *Frag* 9, ed. of C. Müller.

† l. 4.

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jected to the most ingenious and agonizing tortures. On the walls of the palace at Koyunjic the execution of two blasphemers is depicted, whose tongues are being torn out and who are being flayed alive.\* The narrative concerning the lions' den (chap. vi.) furnishes equally striking proof of the author's extraordinary accuracy, if one takes in view, on the one hand, the hunting scenes depicted on the bas reliefs of Assurbanipal, where lions are being brought forward in cages, and, on the other hand, the information furnished by an original text, according to which Esarhaddon causes certain prisoners to be thrown to "the buffaloes, dogs, and bears confined in the neighborhood of the east gate of Nineveh."†

The dimensions of the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar caused to be erected on the plain of Dura, that all might worship it—sixty cubits high and six cubits broad—are obviously exaggerated.‡ The author here must have followed only the popular tradition.§ If, indeed, the text has not been subsequently altered by the copyist. That it was, however, the custom to erect golden images of colossal size admits of no question. The three statues which crowned the pyramid "E-saggal" in Babylon, previous to its sacking by Xerxes, represented (according to Diodorus Siculus||), together with their altar and other appurtenances, a weight of gold of 5850 talents, or 143,559 kilogrammes—i.e., a value of 430,677,000 francs.¶ The sanctuary of the storied pyramid at Borsippa contained (at least up to the time of Xerxes) a similar massive golden image, the height of which was, according to Herodotus,\*\* not less than twelve cubits. Similar though less significant data are furnished by the following transcript of a cuneiform tablet,†† in which two high officers are accused of embezzlement of the gold set apart for the completion of an image:

"To the King my Lord: Thy servant Abad-nebo.‡‡ Peace to the king my lord. Assur, Samas, Bel, Zarpanit, Istar of Nine-

veh, Istar of Arbela, the mighty and great gods—the protectors of the kingdom—may they vouchsafe to the king a hundred years (of life), and multiply the slaves and children of the king, my master.

"The gold which the privy councillor (Abarakku) and the steward of the palace (Aba hikal\*) commanded me to deliver in the month Tasrit to the Rab-daninu†—three talents of pure gold and four talents of mixed gold (elektron?), set apart for the images of the king and of his mother—has not been delivered (to the workmen). Let the king my lord command the privy councillor and the steward of the palace to pay the gold, and within a month's time to give it to the soldiers that this may speedily be done."

The amount of gold here spoken of is 212 kilogrammes, 100 grams weight, or 636,000 francs in value‡—a large sum certainly for the restoration of two images, especially in hammered work. Furthermore, we learn that even several centuries earlier than this the Cissian king, "Agu-kak-rime," § gave, for the colossal images of Maruduk and Zarpanit, in the pyramid of Babylon, golden draperies weighing four talents (121 kilogrammes, 200 grams in weight, or 363,000 francs|| in value), together with numerous jewels. The largest outlay of gold for the adornment of the Temple would, however, doubtless have been made by Nebuchadnezzar,¶ since just at this time there must have been an unusual accumulation of treasure in Babylon as a result of the pillaging of a large part of Asia Minor. According to W. A. I., i. 53-58, this monarch erected a monumental altar before the pyramid at Babylon and "overlaid it with pure gold of considerable weight." The inner walls of the upper sanctuary of the pyramid at Borsippa were likewise overlaid "with hammered gold, which gleamed like the rising and the setting sun." Herodotus\*\* saw at the last-named place, even after its pillage by Xerxes, a table, a throne, and a footstool of gold, which together weighed 800 talents. Supposing now that Herodotus estimated the gold, by the Euboic talent (as was the official custom in his day throughout the realm of the Achamenides), then the 800 talents would represent 20,196 kilogrammes, or a value of 60,598,000 francs.

\* Comp. the accompanying inscriptions W. A. I., iii. 37, 7.

† Prism of Esarhaddon, Col. 2, l. 2 ff.

‡ These dimensions, literally taken, are also from an artistic standpoint perfectly monstrous.

§ In view of the sexagesimal system of notation in use among the Babylonians, the number 60 may be regarded as indefinite.

|| 9.

¶ Computed according to the weight of the light gold-talent. If the heavy gold-talent be used, the above figures must be doubled. If, however, the customary talent of weight be used, then the lighter standard gives 174,270 kilogrammes, 800 grammes, which must be doubled for the heavier. In ascertaining the money value of these various weights, I compute the gold gramme at 3 francs.

\*\* I. 181.

†† British Museum K. 538. The original of this inscription will be considered in my "Choix de textes cunéiformes inédits."

‡‡ Or "Amad-Nebo."

\* Sometimes also "Nir-nikal."

† Not yet understood.

‡ According to the heavy talent, 424 kilo. 200 gram.

§ Comp. Boscawen, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. iv. pp. 138-166; W. A. I., ii. 38, 3.

|| According to the heavy talent 242 kilo. 400 gram. in weight, or 727,200 francs in value.

¶ Comp. Berosus, Frag. 14, ed. C. Müller.

\*\* I., 183.

This assertion is of the greater weight as Herodotus is here speaking of what he himself had seen, and not of what he had learned by hearsay, as may be presupposed as to the statements of Diodorus Siculus.

There are, therefore, sufficient reasons for maintaining that the narrative of the Book of Daniel, concerning the colossal image erected by Nebuchadnezzar, rests indeed upon a fact, although the details may possibly be exaggerated.

The "prince of the eunuchs," as also the Amil-ussur or "steward" (R. V.), mentioned in the Hebrew text of chap. i., are repeatedly named in the Assyrian texts, and are characterized by the same titles. The Assyrian title\* of the latter is in the Hebrew altered to מִלְּךְ, although in the LXX. translated by the more exact form "Ἀμειλάδης" or "Ἀμειλάρ." On the other hand, the designation of the former, "Rab ha-sarisim" or "Sar ha-sarisim" (in other Old Testament books "Rab saris"†), agrees exactly with the Assyrian title "Rabbi nar" or "Rab nar," chief of the servants—i.e., overseer of the palace service. The "captain of the king's guard" (R. V.), Assyrian, "Rab-daiki"—literally "chief executioner"—of whom chap. ii. speaks, occupied an important office under all Oriental monarchs. Upon one of the enamelled tablets discovered by Smith‡ in Nimrud, he is represented as walking immediately at the side of the royal chariot. In 2 Kings xxv. and Jer. lii., where the taking of Jerusalem is described, the "captain of the king's guard" (R. V.), under Nebuchadnezzar, plays a like important rôle. It happens, however, that in both these passages the "daiki," who continued in office until the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, bears the Assyrian name "Nabu-zir-iddin," while in Daniel the captain of the king's guard is called "Arioch" (a name which appears to have been taken from Genesis§). If, now, it be admitted that the date in chap. ii. 1 (like that in chap. i. 1) has been altered by the copyist, and instead of reading "In the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar" should read simply "In the second year" (i.e., in the second year after the events related in the previous chapter||), then Arioch's accession to office must have oc-

curred before the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and since Nabu-zir-iddin appears first at this time, it may very justly be supposed that Arioch was his predecessor in office. Moreover, the name Arioch, suspicious as it seems, may nevertheless have a true Babylonian name as its basis. Indeed, in many of the private documents "Ariku" (the long one) is used as a proper name, and it may justly be supposed that the said Hebrew form was originally אֲרִיךְ, and was then altered to אֲרִיחַ, in order to bring it into accord with that occurring in Genesis.\*

Of the many titles of political and judicial officers which are mentioned in chap. iii., there is not one which is not also found in the records of the Babylonian and Ninevite kings. Only two of these official designations, "Pakhat" (which resembles quite closely the modern "pacha") and "Sakan," are retained in their original Assyrian form, while the Aramaic text replaces all the others—the title of the royal herald included—by their Persian equivalents of the time of the Achemenides. And this fact gives us an important datum for determining the time of the composition of the first chapter. For if it had been in fact written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, then we should find Greek titles answering to the designations of the musical instruments, at least the title σπαργητός, which, according to the evidence of Aramaic inscriptions, had unquestionably been adopted into the Semitic tongues.

It cannot be supposed that the Persian equivalents were used by the author of the Aramaic translation instead of the true Assyrian titles. It must rather be assumed that they stood in the original Hebrew text, especially as the received Hebrew text of chap. i. 3 and 5 retains two Persian words (פַּרְתִּים, designating the daily portions sent from the king's table to the youths confined in the palace, and פַּחַנִּי, designating the most prominent of the Israelitish nobility), but, on the other hand, does not contain a single Greek word. All these Persian expressions show clearly that the Book of Daniel, in its original form, was written in the time of the Achemenides, and not in that of the Seleucides—i.e., at the time when in Babylon the Persian were supplanting the old Assyrian titles and before the Grecian conquest had introduced other—Greek—designations.

\* Ideogram "Man," in combination with the phonetic u-su-ur. That the character for "Man" when it precedes an official title, and is to be spoken, must be read "Amil," and not "msu," I think is evident from several other examples.

† 2 Kings xx. 18; Isa. xxxix. 7.

‡ Assyrian Discoveries; comp. the tablet, p. 80.

§ xi. 1 and 9.

|| Josephus's conjecture (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 3) that the reference here is to the second year after Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt is utterly inadmissible, especially since this invasion is itself very doubtful.

\* Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 3) in like manner changes the title of the "chief of the Eunuchs," אֲשַׁכְנִי, into Λαγάρ, confounding it with the name אֲשַׁכְנִי in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

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## V.

The most important and attractive of the first six chapters of Daniel is undoubtedly the fourth, in which Nebuchadnezzar himself describes, in the form of an official proclamation, his mental derangement and relates the vision in which it was announced. I have already published an account of a mantie dream, related in the official annals of one of the Assyrian kings, and will therefore here only reproduce the account which the Book of Daniel attributes to the Babylonian king (Dan. iv. 4-37, R.V.)

"I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream which made me afraid; and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me. Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream. Then came in the magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof. But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god,\* and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and I told the dream before him, saying, O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof. Thus were the visions of my head upon my bed: I saw, and behold a tree† in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the branches thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band

of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth; let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. The sentence is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the lowest of men. This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen: and thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation, forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation; but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in thee.

"Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astonished for a while, and his thoughts troubled him. The king answered and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine adversaries. The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation: it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree, and destroy it; nevertheless leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him: this is the interpretation, O king, and it is the decree of the Most High, which is come upon my lord the king: that thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee; till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be

\* The god invoked in the name "Balatsussur" (guard his life) was accordingly Bel-Maruduk, the chief god of Babylon.

† In the text which the authors of the Septuagint were translating the whole passage from the words, "Therefore made I a decree," etc., to "I saw and behold a tree," etc. was wanting (6-106).

sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule. Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if there may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity. All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of twelve months he was walking in the royal palace of Babylon. The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth,\* there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: the kingdom is departed from thee. And thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee; until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws. And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honored him that liveth for ever; for his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time mine understanding returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent greatness was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honor the King of heaven; for all his works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

The occurrence here is obviously not "Nebuchadnezzar's transformation into an animal," as old illustrated Bibles and indeed many of the more recent religious story-books interpret the event, but is only a

somewhat poetically embellished, but otherwise perfectly credible case of lycanthropy. That the great Nebuchadnezzar was actually smitten with this disease in the latter years of his life cannot indeed be definitely determined, for our knowledge of events during the reign of this monarch is in many respects deficient. We have no historical inscriptions of his time, no records of his conquests, but only a few texts which relate exclusively to his buildings. Our knowledge of his military achievements is derived almost entirely from the biblical narratives, and these are obviously of no greater weight for our purpose than the fourth chapter of Daniel. Nevertheless this alleged mental derangement of Nebuchadnezzar's offers, according to the opinion of Oppert,\* the only clew for the solving of a historical problem presented by the cuneiform records.

Nergal Sharezer, the son-in-law of the destroyer of Jerusalem, and who dethroned his brother-in-law (Evil Merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's only son), gives in the official inscriptions the title "king of Babylon" to his own father, "Bel-zikir-iskun."† This latter name, however, does not occur in the list of kings, which for this period is complete. It must hence be assumed that Nergal Sharezer gave his father this title only to legitimize an attempted usurpation, which occurred during Nebuchadnezzar's reign, but was perhaps too insignificant to find mention in Ptolemy's Canon (which systematically omits mention of all reigns lasting only a few months). Now the attempt to dethrone a monarch as powerful as Nebuchadnezzar was no slight undertaking, and it could only have taken place through some contingency, such as was offered by the king's mental aberration. In all probability the "king" Nergal Sharezer was a grandson of that older Nergal Sharezer, who at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem bore the title "Rubu-Emga,"‡ "Rab Mag" (R. V.). This title, which was also borne

\* Expédition en Mésopotamie, vol. I, p. 186.

† Or "Bel-sum-iskun." Both readings are equally possible.

‡ Jeremiah xxxix. 3.

The word "emga" is of Akkadian origin, and appears to have been a title of honor given to all scholars of high rank. It must, therefore, not be confounded with the Iranian "magus," the title of the Median magi.

Transferred into Assyrian, it was joined with the Semitic "rubu"—"chief" or "general," forming rubu-emga (comp. my "Langue Primitive de la Chaldée," p. 367).

Similarly, through the combination of the Akkadian "sak" = "officer" with the Semitic "rab" = "great," the title "rab-sak," "general-in-chief," was formed.

Many of the Assyrian titles were borrowed from the Akkadian, as, e.g., the military titles:

Sak—officer.

Sud-Sak—staff-officer.

Rab-Sak—chief of staff.

Turtan—general-in-chief.

\* According to Abydenus (Frag. 9, ed. C. Müller), Nebuchadnezzar uttered his prophecies from the terraces of his palace.

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by the father of Nabonahid,\* appears, however, to be identical with that borne by the chief of the priestly caste. The "king" Nergal Sharezer was therefore the grandson of the chief of the Chaldeans, who legally, according to the constitution of the kingdom and in virtue of his rank, held the regency from the death of Nabopolassar until Nebuchadnezzar's return from the campaign against Syria.† And since everything was hereditary in the priestly caste, "Bel-zikr-iskun," the son of the older Nergal Sharezer, must have possessed the same rights as his father—i.e., must have been entitled to hold the regency as long as the reigning monarch was incapacitated by his mental derangement to discharge the duties of his office. That he should under these circumstances attempt to turn the regency into a formal kingship, is in itself by no means improbable.‡ There are, indeed, in my opinion, certain forms of expression in the text which indicate this quite clearly. Nebuchadnezzar's words, "At the same time mine understanding returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom my majesty and brightness returned unto me, and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent greatness was added unto me," at least point to the supposition that during his sickness an attempted usurpation took place. We must not, however, understand "seven years" as the period indicated by the "seven times" of which the text speaks, for the king's sickness must surely have been of shorter duration, and moreover this expression may also represent a term of only seven months. In accordance with this view, it is perfectly clear why Bel-zikr-iskun's usurpation fails of mention in Ptolemy's Canon. The ground of this omission may, indeed, have been twofold: 1. The irregularity of the act causing the usurpator's name to be stricken from the list; and 2. The short duration (not a full year) of the usurpation itself. The information offered by the fourth chapter of Daniel may thus have in all respects a thoroughly factual ground, at least historical data are not lacking for the vindication of its statements, which may hence be included in the number of those valuable and authentic pieces of information which have been preserved only in the Book of Daniel. If, now, further questions arise as to the form of the

narrative of chap. iv., then there are at least two circumstances which must not be overlooked.

1. It is not to be assumed that we have here a literally exact rendition of one of Nebuchadnezzar's proclamations. The hand of the Jewish author betrays itself too often in too many places, and moreover much in it is not in harmony with the style of the recovered Babylonian and Assyrian records. If Nebuchadnezzar was in fact temporarily insane, and had his sickness really been the occasion of an attempted usurpation, the official annals would doubtless have mentioned it, but would hardly have used such bright colors in depicting the physical and mental condition to which the king was brought by his sickness. The fourth chapter of Daniel mirrors unmistakably the personal standpoint of the Jewish author, who would find especial delight in representing the powerful conqueror of his Fatherland humbled in such a manner. On the other hand, it appears to me equally inconceivable that the narrative could have been exclusively the work of the Jewish author, for had this been the case, he would unquestionably have given his picture in many places a different coloring. He would have drawn Nebuchadnezzar's conversion with more definite lines, and would have made him praise with solemn words the power of Daniel's God, as at the close of the third chapter he represents him offering formal homage to the God of the three youths who had been rescued from the furnace. Neither would he have made him, while acknowledging the might and power of the Most High God, speak of his god "Bel-Maruduk" (after whom Daniel was named), nor of the "spirit of the holy gods" as inspiring the seer. Nor would he have omitted putting in his mouth some word of regret, of repentance concerning the humbling of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple of Jehovah. He would have made him speak somewhat as the books of Maccabees do of the dying Antiochus Epiphanes. Upon closer examination of chap. iv., two striking peculiarities are evident. In addition to those passages in which the spirit of the Jewish author betrays itself, and where the thought and expression obviously fail to correspond with that of the official annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, there occur also passages, notably verses 1-16 and 31-33, in which the traces of an original Assyrian prototype may be clearly recognized. I believe, indeed, that I can detect in these passages genuine Assyrian phrases. It would, in fact, not be difficult

\* W. A. I., i. 68, 2 and 3; comp. my "Langue Primitive de la Chaldée," p. 364 ff.

† Berosus, Frag. 14, ed. of C. Müller.

‡ Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 10, 6) conjectures that during Nebuchadnezzar's sickness of seven years "no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom" (Whiston's translation). His conjecture is, moreover, doubtless based on the statements of the Book of Daniel.

to match many expressions of single verses with corresponding phraseology from well-known Assyrian texts.

In my opinion, the author of chap. iv. must have had before his eyes a genuine Babylonian document, perhaps a fragment of Nebuchadnezzar's annals, which, however, he paraphrased somewhat according to his own manner of thinking, introducing foreign ideas, and emphasizing particulars which in the document before him were only superficially indicated, and these paraphrases (as a comparison of the Hebrew and LXX. texts will show) have been made more and more prominent in subsequent recensions. Verses 3 and 6, which are lacking in the LXX., are obviously copied from the introduction to chap. ii., where Daniel is summoned only after the official soothsayers and interpreters have been unable to give any interpretation. Furthermore, verses 17-30 must be attributed wholly to the Jewish author, since the original text which served him as a model would probably have referred to the king's sickness only in a cursory and indefinite manner. On the other hand, I believe that in other passages, notably verses 7-14 and 31-33, unaltered Babylonian documents are reproduced. We meet here expressions which occur also in Assyrian inscriptions, especially in the hymns, many of which have been preserved. It may, perhaps, be objected here that the humble tone which, especially in the last-mentioned passage, is apparent, is inconsistent with the triumphant pride which generally characterizes Nebuchadnezzar's epigraphic memorials, and also finds expression in Dan. iv. 30. "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?"

Feelings of repentance and humility toward the gods were, however, by no means unusual among the Assyrians and Babylonians. We have elsewhere considered\* a number of original texts, from which it clearly appears that the spirit of contrition was among these peoples developed to a high degree, and was a characteristic trait of their piety. A few of these Penitential Psalms have come down to us in their original Akkadian form, accompanied by an interlinear translation in Assyrian; others are of exclusively Assyrian authorship;† all, however, show that the Babylonians and Assyrians, more perhaps than other peoples,

were penetrated with the consciousness of the necessity of repentance and the salutary power of humility and penitence, especially since they considered every misfortune, every sickness, as an immediate result of some transgression or ignoring of the divine commands. So even their monarchs openly and repeatedly declared their humility and repentance. As the last Babylonian king, Nabonahid, saw his throne menaced and disaster approaching from the Persian advance, he turned with penitence and in deepest humility to the god "Sin."\*

"For myself, Nabonahid, in all that concerns my sinful relation to thy great godhood, save me graciously; grant me the prolongation of my life for many days. And for Bel-sar-ussur, my first-born, the offspring of my heart [I pray], put into his heart reverence toward thy exalted divinity, that he may never fall into sin and may not delight in forgetfulness of duty."

The glowing words in which in chap. iv. the glory of the Almighty is praised are likewise found in the inscriptions of the Indian Association and in other memorials of Nebuchadnezzar's reign in praise of Bel-Maruduk, the tutelary god of Babylon, whom the king in the fifth verse entitles "my god," and throughout considers as the object of his deepest reverence. If, now, it be maintained that the Jewish editor of Daniel has altered the sense of the text he was copying by suppressing the name "Bel-Maruduk," with the design of representing this praise of the Babylonian as having been rendered to the true God, yet this position cannot be as correct as at first sight it might appear.

The recovered texts constantly show in many ways that in Nebuchadnezzar's time the development of philosophico religious doctrine was in full activity. The idea of the unity of the divine essence, and of the gods as only special forms of manifestation, and not distinct separate individualities, had indeed always been recognized in the religious teaching of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. It remained, however, for a long time an esoteric doctrine, and hence eluded any specific formulation. It was only about the time of the beginning of the new Chaldean Empire that the conception of one first and highest principle, which ruled over all the gods, began to receive general and open recognition, which was materially aided by the contemporary development of a philosophical terminology, independent of the symbolic names of the gods. At that time

\* Comp. Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldaer, Part I., chap. 1, § 6.  
† W. A. I., iv. 64.

\* W. A. I., i. 681, col. 2, lines 19-31.

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first appears, with definite attributes and a well-defined cultus, the person of "Ilū," the god *κατ'εξοχήν*, the absolute god, crowning the divine hierarchy, out of whose bosom all emanations proceeded. In him was recognized the "One," the "Good," the "First Principle," the source of the highest triads,\* and these representations reached at length the highest degree of definiteness in the celebrated school of Uruk or Orchoē in the time of the Seleucides. The expression "One God," which then came into use, became indeed a component part of many of the proper names of the scholars of that Orchoēan School.† Doubtless this advanced stage of development had not been reached in Nebuchadnezzar's day. Especially was this king led, through his personal devotion to Maruduk, to give another form and direction to the religious ideas which were in course of development. Before his day the Assyrians had attributed to their tutelar god, "Assur," the attributes of a *Deus exsuperantissimus*, the Father and Master of the gods. His superiority was emphasized by them to such a degree as to make evident a powerful trend toward monotheism, notwithstanding the contemporary recognition of inferior gods, which had been received from the Babylonians, but subordinated to Assur. Nebuchadnezzar endeavored to raise "Maruduk" to the same relative position which, among the Assyrians, had been held by their national god. He strove to secure by his subjects the recognition of Maruduk as the Supreme God, the "First Principle," and sought to attach to his name with more definiteness the conception of the unity of the divine essence, which was becoming more clearly apprehended through the speculations of the sacerdotal schools. Hence Maruduk was given titles which never before had been accorded him. Only in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions is he represented as having the characteristics of absolute divinity, "the Supreme God," with more definite precision than perhaps had ever been the case with Assur.

In the so-called "Inscription of the Indian Association" Maruduk is entitled "Supreme Lord, the First-born, Chief of all the gods, the Divine Preserver of the heavens and the earth, the Lord God, Sublime Master of the gods," and is indeed expressly identified with "Ilū," while Nebuchadnezzar at the same time declares himself as

the propagator of his cultus. The Jewish writer of Daniel was thus justified in considering this religious idea, expressed so constantly in Nebuchadnezzar's official documents, as a true tendency toward monotheism and as a distinct advance over former Babylonian beliefs. He might, indeed, have considered Maruduk, as adored and proclaimed by Nebuchadnezzar, somewhat in the same way as the author of the Book of Esdras considers "Ahuramazda," as a sort of imperfect representation of the true God. Moreover, it would be most natural for him to recognize this substantial advance, imperfect though it was, since it was one of his compatriots, the inspired seer, whose history he is recording, to whose influence upon the king it was due.\*

Furthermore, it is worthy of note that whenever the author of Daniel represents Nebuchadnezzar himself as speaking, and apparently quotes from some official royal document, there appears uniformly this recognition of one Supreme God, one First Principle, higher than all other gods. In chap. iii. 31-33† these definite limits are not overstepped. The prohibition of blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo (iii. 29) is not of this nature, nor is it recorded as having these characteristics.‡ This is also true of chap. ii. 47, where the king speaks of Daniel's God as the "God of gods." Both these passages belong obviously to the narrative itself, and are only indications of the personal standpoint of the narrator.

## VI.

Before closing this hasty examination of these six chapters, I will consider two statements whose impossibility, from the standpoint of history seems to me unquestionable. 1. The number of the satrapies established by Darius the Mede seems evidently exaggerated, especially if we see in him only a vassal whom Cyrus set over

\* Individual critics go so far as to deny the actual existence of Daniel. In my view, however, the decision of this disputed question hangs solely upon the decision as to whether the book which bears Daniel's name has or has not real historical worth. The identification of the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel (xiv. 14 and 20; xxviii. 3) with that Daniel who was a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar is doubtless difficult (comp. Ewald, *Die Propheten*, vol. ii. p. 560), although Delitzsch (in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, p. 271) has shown that this is nevertheless not impossible.

† Probably these three verses originally formed the introduction of the proclamation which is given in chap. iv.

‡ In and of itself this prohibition only shows the form and manner in which the Assyrians in all their original documents speak of foreign gods. They recognized them indeed as gods, but subordinated them to the supremacy of Assur. So Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges the god of the three youths as a true god, and as such he forbids blasphemy against him. He does not, however, hold him to be the one only God, nor even the highest God. This nonance is worthy of notice, as it witnesses in favor of the Book of Daniel.

\* Anonym. *Compend de doct. Chaldaïe* ap. Stanley, *Histor. philosoph.*, vol. ii. 1125.

† Comp. my "Essai sur un document mathématique chaldéen," p. 98 ff. note.

Babylon. This number can only be accounted for on the supposition of a later corruption of the text, its originator evidently having in mind the twenty great satrapies which Darius Hystaspes established in Persia. Changes of this character, introduced by the pen of successive copyists, are obviously manifest in many passages of the Bible, and are recognized as such by the most orthodox commentators.

2. It seems hardly credible that Nebuchadnezzar should have made Daniel "master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers" (v. 11), since, on the one hand, it seems evident that a Jew as faithful and in every respect strict in his observance of the law as Daniel could not have discharged the essentially heathen functions of this office; nor, on the other hand, is it conceivable that the Chaldean literati, who were so peculiarly proud of the purity of their descent, and formed such an exclusive hereditary caste,\* would have permitted a stranger, whose religion was different from their own, to be placed over them. Hence I do not hesitate to regard the second clause of the eleventh verse and the first clause of the twelfth verse (chap. v.†), as likewise chap. iv. 9 (R. V.), as being recent interpolations; and this seems all the more probable, as Nebuchadnezzar, according to chap. ii. 48, rewarded Daniel only with an administrative office. This latter passage does indeed speak of the "wise men;" still I believe that this word, which is obviously out of harmony with the passage, must also have been a later attempted emendation, when the specific meaning of the Assyrian title "sakan" had already been lost. This verse must originally have read: "And the king made Daniel great, and gave him great gifts, and made him governor of the province of Babylon and chief of the district governors (sakan) of Babylon."

## VII.

Let us now briefly recapitulate the conclusions arrived at in the preceding paragraphs.

The first six chapters of the Book of Daniel delineate a very exact picture of the Babylonian court under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, and they have a historical value which cannot be contested, con-

firmed as it is by the recovered cuneiform texts.

They must, therefore, have been composed at a date not far removed from the persons and events of which they treat, and hence cannot be regarded—as is maintained by the Rationalistic exegesis—as a product of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The author, moreover, appears to have made frequent use of original Babylonian documents, perhaps fragments of Nebuchadnezzar's official annals, which, however, he paraphrased and accommodated to his own individual point of view.

Although for this reason the Aramaic redaction of chapters ii.-vi., at the present time before us, contains Greek words, which appear to point to a date after Alexander, yet this is because these chapters are probably only a translation of an original Hebrew text of which the first chapter alone has been preserved.

This original Hebrew text must, according to all indications, have been composed under the Achamenides, as appears from the fact that certain Assyrian titles are given under their Persian equivalents, which latter the author of the Aramaic translation of the time of the Seleucides retains in his text.

These conclusions not only tend to substantiate the assertion of the Talmud that the Book of Daniel dates from the time of the great Synagogue, but they are also in harmony with the allusions to the episodes of the Book of Daniel which the dying Mattathias makes in his discourse to his sons,\* and particularly indeed to those contained in the first six chapters. These allusions do not accord with the theory that the book is wholly a product of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hence those who maintain the views of Porphyry desire to shut them out of their consideration. "It is a perversion," says Noeldeke,† "when this passage is cited as a witness to the authenticity of the book; this could only be valid if we could regard that discourse as having been recorded with stenographic precision. It follows, therefore," etc.

This were indeed to reject in a summary manner and without sufficient ground the testimony of a biblical book whose historic worth is otherwise fully recognized. Doubtless the last words of Mattathias could not have been stenographically reported. They were, however, of too solemn a nature not to have been guarded with care by his con-

\* Diod. Sic., ii. 29.

† It seems strange that the author should have failed to call attention to the fact that the author of Daniel is in no degree responsible for the historical accuracy of this statement. He simply records the statement of the queen, who doubtless repeated the current tradition of what had taken place a generation previously. The honor shown to Daniel may well have been exaggerated under the excitement of the moment and in furtherance of her desire to have him consulted (Trans.).

\* 1 Macc. ii. 59 and 60.

† Die Alttestamentliche Literatur, p. 222.

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temporaries; they were, moreover, too brief and binding to have been crowded out of mind by more gross thoughts. The author of 1 Maccabees, who cites them but little more than sixty years afterward, must surely have retained, if not the exact words, at least their essential tenor. If, however, it be attempted to prove by this discourse that already in the time of the Maccabees the Book of Daniel was accepted as canonical, I freely concede that hardly more than a weak indication is hence deducible; but to substantiate the opposite view not even so weak an indication as this is deducible. At least none such is furnished by the exclusion of Daniel's name from the list of prophets contained in Ecclesiasticus; this exclusion proves only that at that time the Book of Daniel, on account of its peculiar apocalyptic rather than prophetic contents, was included among the Hagiographa and not among the prophetic Scriptures, as is still the custom with the Jews. This appears to me so clear and obvious that only an invincible prejudice could fail to recognize it.

#### VIII.

If, finally, the authenticity of Daniel is questioned on the ground of the many marvellous occurrences related, and it be maintained that tales such as those of the three youths in the furnace, Daniel and the lion's den, and the mysterious handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast are conclusive evidence of the unauthenticity and historical worthlessness of the book, I must reject this method of procedure most emphatically, as being thoroughly unjust and unscientific. And this I do not merely as a Christian, but also as a scholar and in the name of a principle of criticism, which in my view must be held with absolute clearness in the examination of the sacred books, as of all literary records of the past. "From these," Noeldeke asserts,\* "the spurious character and the true date of our book may be fixed with certainty, and we may dismiss in short order the numerous other difficulties which are in the way of its acceptance. Among these are the fabulous and impossible features of most of the events related in the book."

Proof of the spuriousness of any work may not, however, be secured in such a manner, especially if the impossibility of miracles is assumed, and they are held to be "fabulous and impossible." For the question as to whether certain related events are

credible or are to be relegated to the realm of fable must always be investigated independently of the second question concerning the date of the writing in which these events are related.

Whatever views may be held concerning the supernatural and the miraculous, it cannot in any event be denied that even in our own day books are written which recount events no less extraordinary than those related in Daniel, and of which the contemporaries profess to have been eye-witnesses. At most it can only be said that these authors are either self-deceived or have been deceived by others, according to the estimate placed upon the stories themselves and the credibility of the narrators; but the narrative itself cannot on this account be considered a legend of a later date nor its real genuineness called in question. With the method of criticism which has been followed in the effort to discredit Daniel, I would be perfectly prepared to prove that the book "Notre Dame de Lourdes," by La Serre, could not have been written previous to the twenty-first or twenty-second century.

Every unprejudiced and truly scientific critique will therefore leave out of view the abstract question concerning miracles, which must be reserved exclusively for the criticism of the events considered in themselves. It is not the function of the textual critic to resolve or even to consider this matter. So long as the textual critic does not permit himself to err through irrelevant and prejudiced theories, it will be to him immaterial whether the text under consideration is filled with marvels or not; the only thing to be kept clearly in view is the question whether or not at the time the document was written such things were in fact believed. But the judgment of the critic must, above all, be free from the influence of personal prejudices.

An excellent example, which, moreover, does not involve the divergent standpoint of Christian and freethinker, is furnished by the hieroglyphic tablet of the king, Rameses XII., preserved in the National Library at Paris. This document unquestionably records more marvels than are to be found in any one of the biblical narratives; consider, *e.g.*: 1. The demoniacal possession of the princess "Bent-Rashit;" 2. The dialogue, spoken in the presence of the priests, between the god "Khons, tranquil in his perfectness," and the inferior embodiment of the same god "Khons, the Councillor of Thebes," and still further the many circumstances attending the miraculous healing of the princess at the touch

\* Die Alttestamentliche Literatur, p. 225.

of the sacred ark of Khons, brought from Mesopotamia, and finally the marvellous vision which led the Prince of Bakhten to decide to send the sacred ark back to Egypt. Certainly no one credits these marvellous deeds of the god "Khons, the Protector of Thebes." As little, however, would it occur to any one to question the genuineness of the tablet. At most it could only be said that the narrative bore the stamp of the credulity of the age. And this is all the more significant, as we are here concerned not with a book of legends, nor a document which comes to us only after many transcriptions, but the original itself of an official document engraved shortly after the return of the ark of the god, by the order of the brother-in-law of the Princess Bent-Rashit.

Is it, then, just to deny the authenticity of a book solely because it recounts miracles?

I demand of the Rationalistic exegetes only that they do not use two standards of weight and measure, but judge the Book of Daniel, and indeed every other biblical writing irrespective of the marvels related, by the same standards they use in judging the tablet of the Egyptian monarch. It is but little to ask, but that little we are surely justified in demanding from every critic who rightly claims this title, and who does not throw himself blindly into the service of preconceived philosophical theories. When the question of the age and authenticity of Daniel has been decided, without prejudice, from external and internal data, then it may be in order to consider the question concerning the miracles it relates and to decide as to their credibility.

## ST. PAUL AND THE ROMAN LAW.

BY W. E. BALL, LL.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), August, 1891.

IN these days theology is not popular. Even the clergy find it well to conceal rather than to parade their proficiency in the branch of learning of which they are supposed to be professors. To preach theology is very soon to preach to empty pews. Yet in past ages this study has excited the keenest popular interest. What has occasioned the change? Is it that the development of theology as a living science has been arrested; and that the language in which it is taught has become classical—but dead?

For in spite of the boasted test of orthodoxy, *quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*, theology in former ages has developed, or at least has changed. Theology may be said to be religious truth presented in philosophic form. But in what philosophic form? Or rather, in the form of what philosophy? Living theologies have been clothed in the language and permeated with the spirit of living philosophies. The philosophy of a past age will not serve as a vehicle for the theology of this. If the theology preached and taught to-day be preached and taught in terms of the philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it may be orthodox, but it cannot be popular. The possibility of a revival of lay interest in theology has been demonstrated quite lately. Professor Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" excited much hostile criticism, but it was read not only by ministers of religion, but also by the multitude. The reason is obvious. Whatever may be thought of the author's conclusions, his language is that of the current philosophy. He brings theology forth from the tomb of dead controversies, and divests it of the shroud of obsolete definition. The reanimated form may not be vigorous; but at least it is reanimated, and it breathes the atmosphere of modern thought.

It is sometimes asserted—and the assertion marks the hatred and contempt into which theology has fallen—that the Bible contains no theology. But this is surely wide of the fact. The Gospels, indeed, contain the statement of religious truth rather than reasoning concerning it. But the Epistles of St. Paul are theological treatises. They consist largely of abstract argument; they formulate with more or less distinctness a system of divine metaphysics. St. Paul was, indeed, the chief formulator of Christian doctrine; and it is a part of the object of the present article to show that, like all other popular theologians, he clothed his conceptions of religion in the language of contemporary philosophy.

St. Paul became the formulator of Christian doctrine because he was the interpreter of the Gospel to the Gentile nations. The conversion of the Hebrews involved the task of harmonising the superstructure of Christianity with the ancient foundations of Mosaic Law. But in the case of the Gentiles the foundations were lacking, and it was necessary to enunciate a complete theory of natural and revealed religious truth. Without St. Paul, or some one like him imbued with Gentile culture, the Chris-

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tian religion could hardly have extended itself beyond Palestine. He afforded a marked contrast to his colleagues in the Apostolate in many respects, but most of all in this, that he was a Roman citizen. In his time the citizenship of Rome was much more than a mere social distinction. It was accompanied by incidents which affected every relation of life. In the routine of business, in the making of contracts, in the payment of taxes, in the commonest details of domestic management, in the whole field of litigation, in testamentary dispositions and the succession to inheritances, the Roman citizen was confronted with technical distinctions between his position and that of the Roman subject who had not received the franchise. It was impossible for a man's citizenship to remain an unnoticed element in his daily life. At that period there existed no professional class corresponding to the modern solicitor, for the juriconsults were rather professors of law than lawyers. To the private citizen a knowledge of the law was more than an advantage; it was a necessity.

The Roman people had an innate genius for law. The science of jurisprudence was the only intellectual pursuit in which they discovered the highest order of excellence. With her fine faculty for assimilating her conquests to herself, Rome spread her passion for the study of law wherever she imposed her yoke. The inhabitants of distant provinces came to rival the Italians themselves as masters of their national science. At no long period after the death of St. Paul, Gaius, who like himself was a native of Asia Minor, became the greatest jurist of the age.

From an intricate mass of technicality there was evolved a philosophy which soon modified, and which was destined to transform, the system in which it originated. Already in the reign of Augustus a school of lawyers had arisen whose genius and enlightenment gave no uncertain promise of that meridian brilliance of jurisprudence which illuminated the epoch of the Antonines. The Augustan age of literature gave birth to the Augustan age of law.

Judea, although conquered by Rome, was never Romanised. It was occupied by Roman soldiery and governed by Roman officials; but it was never colonised by Roman citizens or subjected to Roman law. It was otherwise generally throughout the Roman world; and it is not until we call to mind how closely the Roman law affected the daily life of the great mass of the subjects of the Empire, and how deeply the

study of Roman jurisprudence imbued their minds and coloured their ideas, that we obtain an adequate sense of the forcefulness of many of St. Paul's allusions, or duly appreciate the appropriateness of some of his lines of argument to the spirit of the age in which he lived, or discern that some of the doctrines of the faith have assumed the form in which they have come down to us from the accident—if in such a connection we may speak of accidents—of the Apostle's status and education.

Of all distinctively Pauline phraseology, perhaps the metaphor which enshrines the most important truths, and which has become most thoroughly incorporated in the language at once of theology and devotion, is that of Adoption. The word has become so far naturalised in the vocabulary of religion that we hardly recognise it as a metaphor at all. Adoption, as we know it in English life, is a comparatively rare social incident. It has no place in our laws, and can scarcely be said to have any definite place in our customs. Among the Jews adoption was hardly even a social incident, and in a juridic sense it was absolutely unknown. The family records of the chosen people were kept with scrupulous care in order that the lineage of the Deliverer might be identified. Fictitious kinship could manifestly find no recognition in Hebrew genealogies. Amongst the Romans, however, adoption was a familiar social phenomenon, and much more. Its initial ceremonies and incidents occupied a large and important place in their law.

By adoption under the Roman law an entire stranger in blood became a member of the family into which he was adopted exactly as if he had been born into it. He became a member of the family in a higher sense than some who had the family blood in their veins: than emancipated sons, or descendants through females. He assumed the family name, partook in its mystic sacrificial rites, and became, not on sufferance or at will, but to all intents and purposes, a member of the house of his adopter; nor could the tie thus formed be broken save through the ceremony of emancipation. Adoption was what was called in law a *capitis deminutio*, which so far extinguished the pre-existing personality of the person who underwent it that during many centuries it operated as an extinction of his debts.\* But the most striking illustration of the manner in which the law regarded relationship by adoption

\* This would only apply when the person adopted (or arrogated, as the phrase would be in this case) was *sui juris*. If not *sui juris*, he could in strict law have no debts.

is to be seen in the fact that it constituted as complete a bar to intermarriage as relationship by blood.

St. Paul is the only one of the sacred writers who makes use of the metaphor of adoption. Nor is it the word only which is peculiar to him, but also the idea. This metaphor was his translation into the language of Gentile thought of Christ's great doctrine of the New Birth. "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God;" this was the most vital, and at the same time the most difficult, teaching of the Messiah; this was the doctrine of spiritual initiation into that spiritual kingdom which Christ came to found. St. Paul exchanges the physical metaphor of regeneration for the legal metaphor of adoption. The adopted person became in the eye of the law a new creature. He was born again into a new family. By the aid of this figure the Gentile convert was enabled to realise in a vivid manner the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of the faithful, the obliteration of past penalties, the right to the mystic inheritance. He was enabled to realise that upon this spiritual act "old things passed away and all things became new." St. Paul's use of the metaphor of adoption has, no doubt, exercised a profound influence upon the form of dogma. It is intimately connected with the doctrine of Assurance. This doctrine is principally founded upon Rom. viii. 14-16. In this passage, as elsewhere, the Third Person in the Trinity is represented in the character of a witness. The reference is to the legal ceremony of adoption. The common form of adoption was singularly dramatic. It consisted of the ancient and venerated ceremonial conveyance "with the scales and brass," followed by a fictitious lawsuit. The proceedings took place in the presence of seven witnesses. The fictitious sale and re-sale, and the final "vindication" or claim, were accompanied by the utterance of legal formulæ. Upon the words used depended whether the ceremony amounted to the sale of a son into slavery or his adoption into a new family. The touch of the *festuca* or ceremonial wand might be accompanied by the formula, "I claim this man as my son," or it might be accompanied by the formula, "I claim this man as my slave." The form of sale into bondage was almost indistinguishable from the form of adoption. It was the spirit which was different. It was the function of the witnesses to testify that the transaction was in truth the adoption of a child. The adopter it may be supposed has died: the adopted

son claims the inheritance; but his claim is disputed and his status as son is denied. Litigation ensues. "After the ceremony with the scales and brass," declares the plaintiff, "the deceased claimed me by the name of son. He took me to his home. I called him father and he allowed it. It is true I served him; but it was not the service of a slave, but of a child. I sat at his table, where the slaves never sat. He told me the inheritance was mine." But the law requires corroborative evidence. One of the seven witnesses is called. "I was present," he says, "at the ceremony. It was I who held the scales and struck them with the ingot of brass. The transaction was not a sale into slavery. It was an adoption. I heard the words of the vindication, and I say this person was claimed by the deceased not as a slave, but as a son."

*"Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs."*

This text is sometimes quoted as though the witness of the Divine Spirit were addressed to the human spirit. A glance at the original Greek is sufficient to show that what is referred to is a coincidence of testimony, the joint witness of the Holy Ghost and the soul of the believer to the same spiritual fact.

St. Paul's other references to adoption are equally interesting and equally incapable of explanation except by reference to the Roman Law. They are found in passages which abound in legal phraseology, and require for their elucidation an acquaintance with the incidents not only of adoption, but also of heirship and slavery.

In one celebrated passage St. Paul seems to substitute the idea of the new birth for that of adoption in stating the basis of the believer's "heirship." In Titus iii. 5, "washing of regeneration" is said to be "poured out upon us," that we "might be made heirs." This text seems to show clearly the identity of the spiritual facts described under the names of adoption and regeneration. It is also interesting as affording the chief foundation for the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. It is certain that this doctrine has very early patristic authority in its favour. In the Office of Baptism there is one portion of great antiquity, which may perhaps owe its form to the belief of early Christianity upon this point. No one can say with any degree of certainty whether the signature with the

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cross is a genuinely primitive practice ; but there is no doubt that it is a very ancient practice. This symbolic act, accompanied by the words, "We receive this child (or person) into the congregation of Christ's flock," bears a striking resemblance to the vindication, or claim, with the *festuca* in the ceremony of adoption. If it be true that adoption was the rendering into the vernacular of Gentile thought of the doctrine of regeneration, and if regeneration was understood to result from, or at least to be coincident with, baptism, it would not be unnatural that something of the symbolism of secular adoption should be imported into the first liturgical services into which the simple rite of immersion or aspersion was expanded.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that there is another portion of the Office of Baptism which bears clearly discernible traces of the influence of Roman jurisprudence. That part of the Baptismal Service which assumes the form of a covenant seems certainly to have been framed upon the pattern of the venerable species of Roman contract known as the *Stipulatio*. In the English service the part referred to consists of four covenantal questions and responses, beginning with "Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works?" The second question consists of the Creed put in an interrogative form. In the most ancient Liturgies each article of the Creed is placed in a separate interrogatory with a separate response. The third question and answer taken together constitute the acceptance of baptism in "this faith." The fourth question and answer taken together constitute the vow of obedience to the commandments of God. Here it is to be observed that the person exacting the several undertakings is the person who, so to speak, puts them into shape ; he summarises them in the form of interrogations. The person undertaking the several obligations expresses his assent in a short answer. In the first, second, and fourth answers he does so in the very word in which the question is put to him. The engagement, so to speak, is looked upon from the point of view of the promisee, and not from that of the promisor. These were the characteristics, as every student of Roman Law is aware, of the *Stipulatio*, an extremely ancient form of contract to which, although made by word of mouth, there attached much of the peculiar efficacy which in our law attaches to contracts made by deed. But the derivation of this portion of the Baptismal Office does not depend merely

upon analogy of form. The formal question of the *Stipulatio* originally might only be put and answered by the use of the words, *Spondes—Spondeo*. Hence the person making the promise was called the *sponsor*, just as the person exacting it was called the *stipulator*. The word *sponsor* figures prominently in the Office of Baptism of Infants. The name has been taken to imply suretyship, and is referred to as bearing that meaning in the "Post-Baptismal" Service (which, however, dates only from the year 1552). It is true that the word *sponsor* was frequently used to signify a surety, from the circumstance that the contract of suretyship was often made by means of the *Stipulatio*. But in the Office of Baptism the godparents do not undertake any contract of suretyship. The name *sponsor* was, no doubt, originally applied from the circumstance that the person so designated was the person who in fact made the formal *sponsiones* in response to the successive *stipulationes* of the baptist. The *sponsor*, in short, was the person who "answered for" the infant in the sense of answering *instead of* him, and not in the sense of answering *in his default*. The adult was of course his own *sponsor*, inasmuch as he made his own responses.

The derivation of the covenantal questions and answers from the Roman *Stipulatio* throws an interesting light upon a passage in the first Epistle of St. Peter. In the Greek language, which was spoken by a large part of the subjects of the Roman Empire the contract of *Stipulatio* was known by the name of *Eperôtesis* or *Eperôtēma*, the latter form of the word by one of those transitions of signification so common in Greek came to mean, also, the promise or undertaking made by means of the *Stipulatio*. In the very earliest patristic writings, the plural *Eperôtēmata* is habitually employed to describe the promises or vows made in response to the questions of the Baptismal Service. These *Eperôtēmata* comprised, as has been seen, the declarations of assent to the various articles of the Creed. Indeed, it is from the early offices of Baptism that what is traditionally known as the Apostles' Creed has been compiled—that is to say, we find it in no earlier documents, and in no earlier form. The passage in 1 Peter iii. 20-21 reads as follows : "The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight, souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh,

but the answer of a good conscience), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." The word here translated "answer" is *Eperōtema*, a word nowhere else used in the New Testament, and the equivalent, as has been seen of the Latin *Stipulatio*. The Apostle's meaning is plain. It is not the rite of baptism in itself which saves, but the sincere declaration of faith and promise of obedience. The obscurity of the text vanishes, and we are incidentally afforded strong evidence of the influence of Roman Law upon the form of the baptismal ceremony, as well as an indirect testimony that the Apostles' Creed is justly entitled to the name which it traditionally bears.

The metaphor of the spiritual "inheritance" is peculiarly, though not exclusively, Pauline. St. Peter employs it twice, and St. James once, but St. Paul in a multitude of instances; it is closely interwoven with the substance of the longest and most intricate arguments in his Epistles; it appears in the reports of his sermons in the Acts of the Apostles; he alone of all sacred writers employs it in what may be described as the most daring of all theological conceptions, that which is embodied in the celebrated definition of believers as "heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."

It may be urged that in his use of the metaphor of inheritance St. Paul is merely drawing upon the common stock of illustrations derived from the facts of ordinary life, without reference to any specific legal theories. But such a metaphor cannot be used, nor can its full significance be appreciated, without reference to specific legal theories. Take, for instance, the phrase just quoted. If we were not so thoroughly familiar with the description of the faithful as "heirs" of God, would not this expression strike us as peculiarly forced and unhappy? If these words had not been used by St. Paul, would any modern divine have ventured to use them as explanatory of the relation between God and the human soul? To our minds, heirship involves no more than the idea of the acquisition of property by succession, and the idea of succession is manifestly inapplicable with reference to the Eternal God. That the heirship to which St. Paul alludes is Roman and not Hebrew heirship, is evident not merely from the accompanying reference to adoption, but also from the fact that it is a joint and equal heirship. In the Hebrew Law the rights of primogeniture existed in a modified form, closely resembling the ancient custom of Normandy which still obtains in our own Channel Islands. In Ro-

man Law all "unemancipated" children succeeded equally to the property of a deceased father upon his intestacy.

The whole complex and voluminous system of Roman inheritance depends upon a remarkable theory of indissoluble unity between the heir and his ancestor. "The notion was that though the physical person of the deceased had perished, his legal personality survived and descended unimpaired to his heir or co-heirs in whom his identity (so far as the law was concerned) was continued" (Maine's "Ancient Law," p. 181). "The testator lived on in his heir, or in the group of his co-heirs. He was in law the same person with them" (*Ib.* p. 188). "In pure Roman jurisprudence the principle that a man lives on in his heir—the *elimination*, so to speak, of the fact of death—is too obviously for mistake the centre round which the whole law of testamentary and intestate succession is circling" (*Ib.* p. 190). Sir Henry Maine explains this idea by reference to the period when the family, and not the individual, was the "unit of society."

"The prolongation of a man's legal existence in his heir, or in a group of co-heirs, is neither more nor less than a characteristic of the family transferred by a fiction to the individual" ("Ancient Law," p. 186). In English Law there is a well-known maxim, *Nemo est heres viventis*, but this was no principle of the Roman Law. The moment a child was born he was his father's heir. The word *heres* originally means "lord" or proprietor. The namesake of the Apostle, Paul the Jurist, who lived in the third century after Christ, observes that there is a species of copartnership in the family property between a father and his children: "when therefore," says he, "the father dies, it is not so correct to say that they succeed to his property, as that they acquire the free control of their own." This inchoate partnership of an unemancipated son in his father's possessions, and his close identification with his person, may be regarded as some set-off against the quasi-servitude of his position under the formidable *patria potestas*.

In the light of the theories of Roman jurisprudence incongruity disappears from this great Pauline metaphor, and we discern in it a new sublimity. Instead of the death of the ancestor being essentially connected with the idea of inheritance, we find this circumstance "eliminated." The heir has not to wait for the moment of his father's decease. In and through his father, he is already a participator in the family possessions. The father does not die, but lives

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on for ever in his family. Physically absent he is spiritually present, not *with* so much as *in* his children. In this phrase, "the heirs of God," there is presented a most vivid view of the intimate and eternal union between the believer and God, and of the faithful soul's possession in present reality, and not merely in anticipation of the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven.

St. Paul's references to spiritual "inheritance" in the Roman sense are frequently rendered more obscure by the introduction of allusions to the Roman *will*. The word *diathēkē*, which in the Authorised Version is sometimes translated "covenant" and sometimes "testament" or will, occurs thirty-three times in the New Testament. Three of the Evangelists employ the word in their report of our Lord's sacramental declaration, "This is the blood of the new testament." Here, of course, it is no more than the translation into Greek of the original language spoken by Christ. The word also occurs once in the Apocalypse, and with these exceptions it is exclusively used by St. Paul; that is, assuming that he was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The double meaning of the word *diathēkē* has occasioned both translators and commentators extreme difficulty. This may be seen particularly in the mass of exegetical literature which deals with the famous argument concerning the two covenants or two testaments in the 7th, 8th and 9th chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The principal perplexity of commentators has arisen from the apparent incongruity between a covenant or contract and a testament or will. A will is not a contract, and a contract is not a will, and yet the same word is used for both. Even in the Revised Version, although *diathēkē* is translated "covenant" in every other part of the three chapters referred to, from an obvious necessity it is rendered by the word "testament" in Heb. ix. 16, 17. Another perplexity arises from the discussion of the priesthood of Christ, which in these chapters is interwoven with the discussion of the covenants or testaments.

The explanation of these difficulties must be found, if at all, in the Roman Law of will-making; and this is a quarter in which apparently the commentators have not looked for assistance.

It need hardly be said that St. Paul, in any metaphor based upon will-making, could only refer to the Roman will. The Romans were the inventors of the will. The Rabbinical will, only admitted in exceptional cases, was unknown before the Roman

conquest of Palestine, and was directly based upon the Roman model.

The double meaning of the word *diathēkē* is explained at once when it is remembered that the Roman will was in its origin actually a contract *inter vivos*; and that in the time of St. Paul it retained at least, in general usage, the form of a contract.

Originally the testator *in articulo mortis* sold his estate or "family" to the person whom he wished to be his heir. A nominal price was paid. There were present the scale-holder, who weighed out, or purported to weigh out, the purchase-money, five witnesses to testify to the transaction, and the heir himself, who had the name of *emptor familie*, or purchaser of the estate. The ceremony in its essential features remained the same in the time of St. Paul and for many centuries later. The Prætorian or written will, already employed in the first century, was only an alternative form, and was comparatively little used. But long before the time of St. Paul some important modifications had taken place. The ceremony was not deferred until the last moments of life. It had become rather a contract to deliver than an out-and-out sale. The *emptor familie* was no longer the heir himself, but the executor or trustee who took the estate subject to the obligation to hand it over to the real beneficiary; and the testator at the time of the fictitious sale gave verbal directions as to the destination of his property. In the position of the *emptor familie*, at this stage of the development of the will, it is possible that an explanation may be discerned of the description of Christ as the "mediator of a new testament," and the "surety of a better testament."

Viewed in the light of Roman Law, it will be found that in the twofold discussion of the priesthood of Christ, and the two "testaments," there is no more real lack of harmony than in the twofold use of the word *diathēkē*. The heir was a hierophant. The institution of will-making itself is supposed to have been due to the extraordinary horror with which the heathen Roman contemplated the neglect at his decease of those obsequies which were the first and most important function of the heir, and which upon the failure of natural heirs must have remained unperformed save for the institution of the testament. But the duty of the heir was not limited to the observance of funeral rites. The death of the head of a family was, as has been pointed out, in a measure ignored. He was supposed to preside in spirit over the destiny of his repre-

sentatives. His image was retained in the household. It was for the duly constituted heir to keep up the communication, so to speak, between the departed and the survivors. It was for him to propitiate the *manes* of the deceased and to secure his tutelary aid. Ancestor worship is supposed by some to have been the origin of all religion. The Christian may rather discern in this practice some pathetic reminiscence of a purer primeval faith, and trace in the idea of the godhood of the father some dim survival of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God. The sacerdotal aspect of inheritance only disappeared with the prevalence of Christianity.

The Prætorian will has been mentioned as affording already in the time of St. Paul an alternative to the more ordinary or Mancipatory will. In the Prætorian will the ceremony with the scales was dispensed with: the testator's directions instead of being verbally delivered were reduced to writing, and fastened up by the seals of seven witnesses. The seven witnesses represented the five witnesses of the older form, together with the scale-holder and *emptor familiæ*. The seals served the double purpose of securing secrecy and providing a means of authentication. This species of will was the first and only instrument known to the Roman Law which required sealing. More than that: "This was the first appearance of sealing in the history of jurisprudence, considered as a mode of authentication" (Maine's "Ancient Law," p. 210). There is probably a reference to the Prætorian will in Ephesians i. 13-14: "In whom having also believed ye were sealed with the Holy Ghost of promise, which is an earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession to the praise of His glory." As translated it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign any precise meaning to this passage. It should rather be rendered, "In whom having also believed ye were sealed with the *Holy Spirit of testimony*, which is an earnest of our inheritance until the ransoming accomplished by the act of taking possession (of the inheritance) to the praise of his glory." Here, as elsewhere, the Holy Spirit is referred to as a witness. It is His seal which authenticates the new testament, by which we obtain the inheritance. The spiritual inheritance, as in other passages, is referred to by St. Paul as succeeding upon a state of bondage. When a slave was appointed heir, although expressly emancipated by the will which gave him the inheritance, his freedom com-

menced not immediately upon the making of the will, but from the moment when he entered into the inheritance. This is the "ransoming accomplished by the act of taking possession." In the last words of the passage, "to the praise of his glory," an allusion may be found to a well-known Roman custom. The emancipated slaves who attended the funeral of their emancipator were the praise of his glory. Testamentary emancipation was so fashionable a form of posthumous ostentation, the desire to be followed to the grave by a crowd of freedmen wearing the "cap of liberty" was so strong, that very shortly before the time when St. Paul wrote, the legislature expressly limited the number of slaves that an owner might manumit by will.

There is one passage in the writings of St. Paul which relates to the law of guardianship in connection with the law of inheritance, and which possesses some points of peculiar interest. "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant (R. V., bond-servant), though he is lord of all, but is under tutors and governors (R. V., guardians and stewards) until the time appointed by the father." This passage refers to the guardianship of orphans under an age which for practical purposes may be stated as fourteen. The expression "until the time appointed by the father" would be better rendered "until the time of the father's appointing"—i.e., the period over which the father's power of appointing a guardian extended. This period was arbitrarily fixed, and could not be extended by the father's testamentary directions. The "guardian" was the "*tutor*" of Roman Law—that is, the protector of his person and estate. The "*steward*" was the slave of the "*tutor*," appointed by him when necessary as a bailiff to manage some distant portion of the infant's property. Tutelage was a device for artificially prolonging the *patria potestas*, notwithstanding the decease of the father. The text has sometimes been regarded as applying to a child whose father was living. But this is obviously an error. The *filius familiæ*, so long as he remained a *filius familiæ*—that is, so long as his father lived—was not less in the condition of a bond-servant at forty than at fourteen.

The chapter commencing with the passage which has been quoted, and the chapter preceding it, abound in legal allusion and legal argument, into the detail of which it is not necessary to enter here. The problem to which St. Paul is addressing himself in this and other parts of his writings is one which evidently caused no little perplexity

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amongst Christian converts. Christianity was in effect the substitution of what St. Paul calls the "Law of Faith," or, more shortly, "Faith," for the Ceremonial Law. Current speculations enable us to grasp more readily than those to whom St. Paul addressed himself the idea of an evolution, so to speak, from the Law of Moses to the Law of Christ. We may recognise a development of spirituality in the supersession of ceremony by Faith. But the early convert remembered that the reign of ceremony had itself superseded a previous reign of Faith. There was Faith, as St. Paul so earnestly insists, before the Law. The progress of religion between Abraham and Christ was a progress "from faith to faith." Now if the Law of Faith were a sufficient religious rule, how came it to have been superseded at all? Did not the very fact of the imposition of the Ceremonial Law imply its necessity, or at least its superiority over the simpler form of religion which preceded it?

St. Paul is fond of personification, but his personifications are not poetical, but legal. In his argument he figures the Jewish nation as a child, who was heir to the inheritance of Abraham. The Mosaic Law is a guardian appointed to protect the infancy of the nation, and to train it up for the period when in the fulness of time it should enter upon the inheritance. This inheritance is the advent of the Messiah. But although upon the advent of the Messiah the period of tutelage is past and the inheritance entered upon, the child—still a child—is not left without protecting care, for he gives himself in "adoption" to God, and is received into the family of the great Father; and whereas he was formerly but the heir of Abraham, he now becomes by a new and better title the heir of the Deity. The result of the whole argument is that the Law of Faith is the law of the family. It was the law of patriarchal households, and it is to be the law of the new and mystic household—"the household of faith."

The life of the patriarch was solitary. He dwelt apart from men, surrounded only by his family and servants: to these he was the only lawgiver and the only priest. Duty towards God was unencumbered with ceremonial observances. Duty towards men needed no elaboration in specific rules. A ritual law would have been as much out of place in the primitive family as a civil law. The simple principles of affection and faith were a sufficient substitute for both. The imposition of the Law of Moses was coincident with the transition of the family into the nation. When the family develops

into a tribe and the tribe expands into a nation, affection is no longer a sufficient rule of conduct between individuals. The paternal authority is superseded by custom, and custom is consolidated into codes of law. Worship becomes national and public, and the head of the family relinquishes the functions of the priesthood to a consecrated order. The home is replaced by the society; and this is in itself an explanation of the Dispensation of Discipline. But Christ's mission was to restore the family, not by disintegrating society, but by comprehending it. All men were to become brethren, and all the sons of God. The purpose of the Law was accomplished; the training of the long orphaned nation was complete; and the reign of Faith was restored.

The supersession of the Law of Moses by the Law of Faith is the subject of a very long and very elaborate argument in the Epistle to the Romans. Among Hebrew and Gentile converts alike the question had arisen, what law of religious observance and conduct was henceforward to be observed. Our Lord was not ostensibly a legislator. He did not explicitly enact a code, or formulate a system of Church government. Even after the faith had been accepted, the believer might not at once, or readily, perceive that the faith involved and comprehended a code; that Christ's life was in itself a law; that His precepts were the summary of a spiritualised jurisprudence; that, in truth, the epoch in Divine government had arrived for discarding detailed rules of conduct and ritual, and their replacement by great principles, the particular application of which was reserved for the forum of the individual conscience. It was not easily apprehended that it was in this sense that Christ had come not to destroy, but to fulfil the law. Moreover, much of that part of the law which related to civil matters was, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, still the common law of Judea; and there never was any question of abrogating the moral law contained in the Mosaic legislation.

It is worthy of note, that at the period when St. Paul wrote, and for a long time previously, Roman jurisprudence had been deeply engaged with a problem extremely analogous to that which perplexed the early Church.

The Roman Republic was as exclusive in its spirit as the Jewish theocracy. The ancient Quiritarian Law, elaborately ceremonial in its character, was regarded as the peculiar heritage of the Roman citizen. For-

eigners were jealously excluded from participating in its benefits. A separate system and separate tribunals were established for those who were outside the pale of citizenship. Every student of Roman Law knows how this subsidiary system, distinguished for its extreme simplicity and based on reason instead of immemorial usage, was gradually brought into competition with the old Quiritarian jurisprudence, and finally superseded it. Originally disliked and despised, the *Prætorian Law*, by means in part of the influence of the Stoical philosophy, came to be the object of peculiar admiration. It was lauded as the Law of Nature, restored from the Golden Age; it was eulogised by the name of Equity.

What the *Prætorian Law* was to the Quiritarian Law, the Law of Christ was to the Law of Moses. Like the *Prætorian Law*, the Law of Christ was characterised by its simplicity. It consisted of the great principles which underlay the rigid rules and forms of the Mosaic Code. What the *Prætorian Law* was conceived to be by current speculation, that the Law of Christ actually was—a law of millennial perfection. During the first century the schools resounded with discussions concerning the origin and nature of the *Prætorian Equity*, and the degree and manner in which it ought to supersede the Quiritarian Law. In the light of these juridical controversies we may discern some explanation both of the nature of the difficulty which beset the early Church, and of the method of reasoning which the Apostle adopts in dealing with it.

Further illustrations might be adduced of metaphors and lines of argument in the writings of St. Paul which appear to be derived from the Roman Law. St. Paul is, perhaps, of all writers either ancient or modern the most difficult to understand. It cannot be that his obscurity is deliberate. It is due chiefly, no doubt, to our ignorance of the intellectual atmosphere of the age in which he lived. It is not suggested that a study of the Roman Law, as it existed in the first century, will afford a universal picklock to the perplexing passages in which the Pauline Epistles abound. But it is certain that no satisfactory commentary upon these Epistles will ever be produced except by an author who, in addition to his other qualifications, is a thorough master of the history of civil jurisprudence.

In these days few students of divinity have even an elementary acquaintance with Roman Law. Even students of law show little taste for a branch of study which has no direct, and very little indirect, bearing

upon the every-day practice of their profession. They read the little that they are obliged to read with reluctance, and forget it with alacrity. The Roman Law, indeed, as every reader of English history is aware, was always unpopular amongst the Common lawyers. But it was not always a department of learning neglected by the clergy. In former times Church dignitaries were often eminent "Civilians," to use the term which has been commonly applied in this country to proficient in the study of Roman jurisprudence. The Canon or Ecclesiastical Law, including the law of testate and intestate succession, was based upon Roman Law. The Roman Law which is embodied in the English system of equity was mainly imported into it by ecclesiastical Lord Chancellors.

It may excite some surprise that "Civilian" divines of olden days have left little or nothing to show their consciousness of St. Paul's frequent use of the language of that jurisprudence with which they were familiar. It may be that the unbending dogma of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures which formerly prevailed would in any case have deterred them from looking in any purely mundane direction for the elucidation of an Apostle's language. But in truth they were not in a position to discern so much as may now be discerned of the legal element in the writings of St. Paul. The Roman Law with which they were acquainted was the refined system which was elaborated and consolidated under the authority of Justinian in the sixth century after Christ. This system was widely different from that which prevailed in the time of St. Paul. The discovery of the *Institutes of Gaius*, in the year 1816, threw a flood of light on the remoter history of the law and of the juridical ideas of the Roman people. It was not until the year 1861 that the great work of the late Sir Henry Maine on "*Ancient Law*" made the public—or even the lawyers—aware of the full importance of this discovery. It may be that commentators and theologians still fail to appreciate the value, for the purposes of Scriptural exegesis, of *Gaius* and his modern expositors.

#### SOME PAGAN EPITAPHS.

From *The Cornhill Magazine* (London), August, 1891.

IN the Reading-room of the British Museum, on the lower shelves of Press No. 2608, there stand some very big books.

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They are great folios, heavy and ponderous, hard to lift and awkward to handle. They are collections of Greek and Latin inscriptions. There are the five volumes of Boeckh. There is the colossal *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of the Berlin Academy, which already numbers eighteen volumes. There are the contributions of our own countrymen, which are only just commencing. The contents of these big books have been gathered from all parts of the ancient world. Generations of scholars have contributed the results of their copying or ingenious guessing, and the work is still going on. By and by everything will be taken down, every letter that survives in bronze or marble will be gathered into these folios. Meantime a great deal has been done, and these ponderous tomes stand there in Press No. 2608 as a happy hunting-ground for the antiquarian, the philologist, and the historian.

But it is not with any very erudite intentions that I have been disturbing the repose of these heavy folios. The object of this paper is not to unsettle orthography or to reconstruct history. I have been looking only at the epitaphs, and the few I have selected and copied into my note-book are of purely general interest, and may have some attraction for readers who don't care about the internal economy of Athens or the administration of the Roman provinces. I cannot say that I have found many of much literary merit, though I have looked at a great number of inscriptions. But age lends some interest even to the most commonplace things, and these epitaphs have the dignity of many centuries to recommend them.

Perhaps the first impression one gets in looking over these pagan inscriptions is, that the ancient stone-cutters and epitaph-makers were very much like their modern successors. Like them they had their favourite epitaphs which they repeated over and over again. They had their stock phrases, their set forms. They had a fondness for verse and an inability to write verses that would scan. They made pretty much the same kinds of mistakes as amuse us when we look over the old tombstones in country churchyards: bad metre, bad grammar, bad spelling are extremely frequent.

We know, for example, that the Romans were rather uncertain in the use of the aspirate, and we get a curious illustration of this when on one tombstone we find *ossa* (bones) spelt with an initial *h*.

An Athenian gentleman shows a confused syntax in the following example:

Here Hippocrates hides in the earth his dear kind nurse, and now longs for thee.

Again, there is very much resemblance in the ruthless way in which an epitaph (generally in verse) is adapted to suit a different set of circumstances. Everyone knows the doggerel rhyme which is so very frequent on rustic tombstones—

Here lies my precious (John) bereft of life;  
He was the best of husbands to a wife.

This is sometimes used with a woman's name in the first line, while the second, regardless of rhyme, is altered to—

She was the best of wives to a husband.

Now in the Vatican Galleries there is a vase which presents the exact counterpart of this. There are inscribed on it some couplets of elegiac verse. These are very bad verses, and a little examination shows that their mistakes arose from the engraver having altered the masculine endings into feminine in order to make the inscription appropriate for the lady whose ashes the urn was destined to contain. He made these alterations and left the verse to shift for itself, but curiously enough in one place, when a change could have been made without violation of metre, he has left the masculine of his original copy.

Again, the common sentiment on the tombs of children is the prayer that the earth may not press heavily upon them. 'Lie lightly on the young' is a very usual phrase, and I have noticed one case where this with a grotesque inappropriateness is altered to—'Lie lightly on the middle-aged.'

One prominent feature in these general inscriptions is the request that nothing may be done to dishonour the tomb. Greek and Roman alike paid the greatest respect to the remains of the departed, and were very anxious that nothing should disturb the ashes or the bones of the dead, or violate the sanctity of the sepulchre. Everybody will recall the lines on Shakespeare's tomb at Stratford-on-Avon, but for downright intensity of anathema the following would be hard to match in modern times:

I give to the Gods below, this tomb to keep, to Pluto, and to Demeter, and Persephone, and the Erinnyes, and all the Gods below. If any one shall disfigure this sepulchre or shall open it, or move anything from it, to him let there be no earth to walk, no sea to sail, but may he be rooted out with all his race. May he feel all diseases, shuddering and fever, and madness, and whatsoever ills exist for beasts or men, may these light on him who dares move aught from this tomb.

This is from a tomb at Athens erected by a sorrowing wife to her husband, 'most

sweet,' but similar expressions are very common. Sometimes in addition blessings are invoked on the man who leaves the tomb undisturbed, or who will make libations to the dead. Sometimes we meet the request that flowers may be thrown upon the tomb.

In some cases the sanctity of the tomb is defended, not by supernatural terrors, but by the prosaic statement of the fine to which the offending person made himself liable. Sometimes the particular form of desecration which was most to be feared was mentioned with a simple directness which one may admire but dare not imitate.

It often happened that a man erected a tomb in his own lifetime. In the case of the larger mausoleums the inscriptions generally stated for whom the erection was intended—so and so—'for himself and his descendants.' Freedmen were often to be buried with their patrons. On one tomb at Rome we read that Marcus Aemilius erected it 'for his brother, his wife, himself, his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, with the exception of Hermes, whom for his bad conduct I forbid to have any approach, access, or entrance to this monument.'

The specification of such exception was not infrequent, and the triplication of terms was the correct legal phraseology. We may quote here from the famous will of Dasumus. The testator specified that only three freedmen, whom he names, were to be buried in his mausoleum, and then continues:

I wish all whom I, before this will or by this will, have manumitted to have access, approach, and entrance to the mausoleum, except you, Hymnus, who, although you acknowledge that I have done a very great deal for you, yet have shown yourself so ungrateful that, on account of what I have endured from you or feared from you, I think you ought to be kept away even from my tomb.

Poor Hymnus! did he feel his exclusion very much, I wonder? Eighteen centuries have passed since then, and the reader may be a little curious about his misdeeds. One can hardly read many of these epitaphs without seeing that the ancients were less conventional than we are. One sees at least that they were outspoken in the expression of their feelings. Grief and vanity alike find a franker and more unrestrained utterance on these tombs than is usual in our Christian churchyards. Occasionally there was some very plain speaking about the deceased. Of one man we read that he was poor because he was too fond of good living:

'If he had known how to use moderation

he would have been rich.' This epitaph concludes with a very feeble attempt at praise—the deceased was like Socrates in one thing, viz. that he knew well enough that he knew nothing.

But this candour on the part of the survivors was not common; as a rule, the epitaphs commemorate the virtues of model husbands, good wives, and dutiful children.

The praise of personal beauty holds a prominent place in many of these inscriptions. Over one Roman tomb the passers-by are asked to contribute the tribute of their sighs and tears: 'for Beauty's pattern perished when my Lyda died.' And, among the Elgin marbles of the British Museum, there is a remarkable epitaph which an Athenian husband, Ermeros by name, put up to Tryphera, 'his dear wedded wife,' who died at the age of twenty-five. Mention is made of her golden hair, her fair eyelids, her bright eyes, her sweet voice, her rosy lips, her ivory teeth, and then we are told that 'she had all kind of excellence in her lovely form.'

This may not seem to us to be in very good taste, and poor Ermeros's verses do not flow very smoothly, but we may hope he was sincere. Did he marry again, I wonder? Did he ever find again a lady with the bright eyes, and the golden hair, and all the rest of it? And, if so, did this second lady read the epitaph and point out the mistakes of metre, and try and make poor Ermeros ashamed of it?

Perhaps the most beautiful of all the epitaphs of this tender kind is one to a girl called Myia. It is so simple and direct and frank, that it might have been written by Catullus. I must not attempt to translate more than a few lines:

The deep tomb holds you now unconscious.  
You can't get angry now and leap upon me, and  
show your white teeth in sweetly playful bites.

So the inscription ends, and one feels that though Myia was not what she ought to have been, though she had never worn the yellow bridal veil, yet there was one man who really loved her and was sincerely sorry when she died.

There is another interesting epitaph on a girl who, like Myia, had died young. She is represented as lamenting her hard lot.

'O pleasant light of day!' she begins,  
'O pleasant joy of living!'

She tells that she had been a slave, and, with a not displeasing play on words, she begs for blessings on the mistress who set her free and gave her a place in the family vault.

Then she continues, 'And you, O youth,

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whom the Phrygian land brought forth—lament me not! Your kindnesses were pleasant to me while I lived, and now are pleasant to my ashes.'

These pagan mourners did not feel it necessary always to pretend to be resigned to the stroke of fate. We find on some tombs the utterance of the most poignant and unrestrained grief.

'When the grave engulfed you,' says one 'most unhappy father,' 'it took away my sole delight and cut the prop of my weak old age—so desolate and lonely [*i.e.* without any relations] do I live, that if the Manes had not forbidden I would have buried myself alive with you.'

Sometimes the bitter sense of injustice intensifies the grief of the poor mourner.

One 'most unhappy mother' commemorates the sad fact that in the space of four years she had lost three children, and then continues—'For ever and ever I am accursed with the Gods above and the Gods below.'

The following is from a slab of marble found at Athens:

If there ever was a thoroughly good woman I am she—both in reference to righteousness and in all other ways. But being such I got no just return, neither from those from whom I expected it nor from Providence. Unhappy, I lie apart from my mother and father. I say nothing about what gratitude they showed me. Not they but my sons provided for me.

The high praise which this unfortunate lady is represented as claiming for herself leads us to hope that the epitaph was not her own composition, but the work of her sorrowing friends, perhaps of those sons 'who had provided for her.'

Again, where an Athenian youth assures the reader of his epitaph that he was a sculptor not inferior to Praxiteles, we may wonder whether that was the young gentleman's estimate of himself or the partial judgment of his fond friends.

A singer records that he 'was clever at all things, far the best of the Muses, most musical bird of all the Greeks.'

But this was probably the sentiment of his wife, for the epitaph goes on to say that she had had a splendid tomb put up to his memory in another place.

Still, it seems not to have been unusual for a man to compose his own epitaph. In some cases it is distinctly stated that this was done. Thus, the gentleman of Carthage, Vitalis by name, informs the public that he had his tomb made while he was alive, and that he used, as he went by, to read the verses he had inscribed on it. He

says that every man of sense should follow his example. But this individual has very little to say for himself. He went over the whole province partly at the public expense. He hunted hares and afterwards foxes. Then he took to drinking, as he knew he wouldn't live long. One is sorry to think that Vitalis should have been anxious to hand down such a pitiful record; and then his grammar is bad and his spelling is bad, and there is a feeble attempt at something like a pun.

Still worse in grammar and spelling is the epitaph of Præcilius, a banker at Ciria. He, too, informs us that this inscription was got ready in his own lifetime, and there is a remarkable mixture of self-satisfaction and something like gratitude in what he says of himself:

'I was always wonderfully trustworthy and entirely truthful,' he remarks. 'I was sympathetic to everybody; whom have I not pitied anywhere?'

Then he states that he had a merry life, and a long one—I celebrated a hundred happy birthdays; good fortune never failed me.

Some curious and interesting facts about the deceased are occasionally recorded in their epitaphs. Thus an inscription tells us of a couple who died at the age of twenty-three at the same time from eating mushrooms. The husband, who was just two months older than the wife, earned his living by his needle; the wife was a weaver of wool. They were so poor that all their possessions only just sufficed to pay the expenses of the funeral pile. Their friends, who seem to have been poor too, made a collection amongst themselves and bought an urn, and hired a professional mourner, and the pontifex was good enough to give them a place for it free of charge.

Among the curiosities we may put the epitaphs on a tutor, who, with the two children he had in charge, perished in an earthquake, and on a little girl whom the 'hand of magic'—'*saga manus*'—'snatched away' in some mysterious manner at the age of four.

'Parents, guard your children well,' is the advice given.

On some tombs we find it inscribed that the occupant was murdered by robbers. In one of these instances it was a lady who had met this cruel fate, and her sorrowing husband attributes it to her too profuse display of jewellery.

If you love your wife [he says in her epitaph], don't give her too many bracelets. When she

throws her arms round your neck and tells you she deserves some return for her goodness, give in a little to her in the way of dress, but refuse any glittering adornments. That's the way to keep off the robber and the gallant.

Again we have a little girl who dies at the age of five years seven months twenty-two days.

'While I lived I had plenty of fun,' she says, 'and everybody was fond of me.' Then she goes on to make a curious revelation. All through her life she had passed herself off as a boy. Her hair, which was red, had been cut short, and no one knew the secret of her sex except her mother and step-father.

A little boy who lived and died at Smyrna gives in halting verses a dreary catalogue of his complaints. 'Physicians were in vain,' and it is not easy to see what really ailed the little fellow.

Then another very bad complaint got hold of me—much worse than the first complaint. For the sole of my foot had a dreadful wasting in the bones. Then my father's friends cut me open and took out the bones;

and so it goes on in a very bald, disjointed sort of way. The poor boy recovered from that complaint; but another ensued, and he died when a little more than four years old.

In this example, as in the last, the months and days were given, and this exactitude is quite usual. But we may class among the curiosities of the subject a certain epitaph of a Roman husband on his departed wife. He mentions the years, months, days, and even the hours that they had lived together, and then concludes:—'On the day of her death I gave the greatest thanks before Gods and men.'

I have not come upon any inscription so heartlessly frank as this. But a good many husbands seem a little formal in the expression of their grief. The Latin epitaphs especially tend rather to conventional phrases when the virtues of a wife are to be set forth; 'Incomparable' is a favourite epithet. 'Of whom I make no complaint' strikes one as rather faint praise. 'De Qua N. D. A. N. Mortis' (i.e. 'De qua nullum dolorem accepi nisi mortis')—'who never grieved me except by her death'—is several times met with. It is significant, too, that a wife is often praised as 'a stay at home,' or as having spun wool.

One husband remarks that his wife was not greedy. Another, 'She never scolded me.' 'We never had a quarrel' is often

found—let us hope with a fair approximation to truth.

But in many cases a more genuine grief appears.

'You were a good wife,' one bereaved husband repeats more than once in a short inscription, as if he could find nothing else to say.

Another Roman epitaph gives a more fanciful and poetic expression to a husband's grief:

I shall see you in dreams. I shall always repeat your sweet name, Flavia Nicopolis, so that the Manes can hear it. I shall often shed tears over your tomb. Might I see fresh flowers growing there, the amaranth or the violet, so that the passers-by might see the flowers, read the inscription, and say—'This flower is the body of Flavia Nicopolis.'

Again, at Cagliari in Sardinia, there is a sepulchre in honour of a wife's devotion. She and her husband lived happily together for forty-two years. She shared his 'heavy misfortunes'—i.e. probably his exile to Sardinia. There he was ill, and like to die, and she prayed that she might die instead of him. She does die, and her husband recovers, and commemorates her devotion by building a sepulchre which strangers may take for a temple, and by inscriptions on the sides of it in Latin and Greek. In one of these he, too, begs that her bones may turn to flowers, and he goes on to give quite a long list of the kinds he wants to see.

In another epitaph a Roman wife expresses her deep grief for her husband's loss. 'We loved each other,' she says, 'as boy and girl. O most holy Manes,' she goes on, 'guard my dear husband well, be very kind to him, and let me see him in the hours of the night, and then come swiftly and sweetly where he is.'

The wish to see the departed in dreams is very often found. 'I should die could I not in fancy talk with you.'

Reference should be made, in this connection, to the beautiful epitaph which was discovered at Rome in the fifteenth century. It is perhaps the best known and most admired of all, and speaks of a woman 'whose parents called her Claudia. She loved her husband from her heart.'

It would be hard to do justice to this beautiful epitaph in an English version. There is, in the second line, a quite untranslatable play on words—'Sepulchrum huius pulchrum pulchrae feminae.'

Perhaps the most touching and pathetic of all epitaphs are on children. I give one of these in the exact form of the original:—

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 NONIVM ETENIM VITAE DECIMVM  
 COMPLEVERAT ANNVM  
 ET MIHI CRVDELES TRISTEM  
 PECERE SENECTAM  
 NAMQVE EGO TE SEMPER  
 MEA ALVNA ASIATICA QVAERAM  
 ADSIDV EQVE TVOS VOLTVS  
 FINGAM MIHI MERENS  
 ET SOLAMEN ERIT. QVOD TE  
 IAM IAMQVE VIDERO  
 CVM VITA FVNCTVS IVNGAR TIS VMBRA FIGVRIS

This epitaph may be paraphrased as follows :—

Here lies the lifeless body of my beloved foster-daughter, whom, innocent, the Fates overwhelmed with bitter death. For she had not yet completed the tenth year of her life. And to me the cruel Fates have made a sad old age. For, my dear child, I shall be always seeking for you. Continually shall I call up your face as I grieve, and it will be my consolation. Soon, soon shall I see you, when life is done, and I, as a shadow, shall again embrace thy form.

Perhaps still more interesting is an epitaph on a little boy who died suddenly at the age of two. His grandparents seem to have felt his loss keenly. 'He would so delight his grandfather,' we read, 'with his little voice, that all the neighbours used to say, *O dulce Titu!* In the space of two years he lived as if he had lived sixteen years, for he had such intelligence as if he was hurrying to the grave.'

Then we have a little girl who died before she was eight years old, just when 'her wanton playfulness was beginning to contrive sweet freaks of mischief. Had you lived,' the inscription ends, 'no girl in the world would have been more accomplished than you.'

Here I may mention the epitaph on a young actress who died at the age of fourteen, just after she had made a most successful *début*. She was 'taught and trained almost by the hands of the Muses,' but she had to die, and her professional 'zeal, her trouble, her love, her praise, her honours are hushed and silent in ashes and in death.'

Very pathetic, too, is the simple expression of grief which, in slightly varying forms, is found on several tombs.

'Well may'st thou rest, my son. Thy mother begs thee to take her to thee.'

A great variety of moral sentiments is to be found among these epitaphs. A very large number are inspired by the thought of the vanity of life and the certainty of death. Here are some specimens :

Weary traveller who pass me by, though you may walk about for a long time, yet you will have to come here.

At your birth the Fates gave you this home.

Our wishes deceive us, time cheats us, and death mocks our cares. Anxious life is nothing.

Nothing we do is of use. Glory is vain.

Live joyfully. However thou livest, life is a gift of little worth.

This gloomy moralising was generally coupled with the advice to enjoy life while it lasted, and to get as much pleasure as possible. 'Eat and drink and amuse yourself,' appears on many a tomb as the sum and substance of what the dead man had to say. His whole system of philosophy was in those three words. The trite maxim 'Live for the day—live for the hour' is as frequent in these epitaphs as it is in the poems of Horace. The shallow sophistry of this teaching is contradicted by one of the inscriptions I have noticed. 'Don't live,' this sensible individual says, 'as if you were immortal, nor yet as if you had such a very brief space, or you may have the unpleasantness of an impecunious old age.'

Now and then the sentiment or the precept is of a loftier strain :

'The gifts of the wise Muses are best.'

'Live the rest of thy life nobly.'

But these moralisings, or immoralisings, are not more diverse than the views about death and the future life which are expressed or implied on these tombstones. Sometimes we find the flattest negation :

'I was nothing. I am nothing.'

The following reminds one of the epitaphs which the late Professor Clifford composed for himself :

'I was not. I am not. I grieve not.'

A Greek inscription found at Rome is still more outspoken in its denial of the current theological belief.

'Traveller,' it says, 'don't pass by this inscription, but stand, and hear, and learn something before you pass on. There is no boat to Hades, no boatman Charon, no dog Cerberus, but all the dead are bones and dust and nothing else.'

In direct opposition to these sceptical views stands one of the Latin epitaphs :—

'If you think there are no Manes, enter into some compact' (*i.e.* back up your opinion by a stake of some kind), 'invoke them, and you will see.'

On the other hand, many epitaphs express the hope of some sort of reunion with the departed and the expectation of some reward for virtue :

'I lived honourably. This now is of service to my remains.'

This sentiment is often repeated.

'Special honours will be given you from Pluto and from Proserpine' is the pious hope of an affectionate Athenian.

Some epitaphs express a bolder faith :

Thou art not dead, but gone to a better land ;  
thou dwellest with full delight in the Isles of the  
Blest. There, in the Elysian plain, freed from all  
ills, thou rejoicest amid soft flowers. Cold hurts  
thee not, nor heat ; disease does not molest thee,  
hunger nor thirst can trouble thee.

This is from a Greek epitaph found at Rome. One dug up at Smyrna nearly two and a half centuries ago expresses a still more audacious confidence.

'The house of the blessed Gods holds me,' it says. 'I dwell with the blest in the starry heavens, and sit on golden thrones,' and so on through sixteen hexameter verses.

More of such citations might be given, and the inquiry naturally arises, what really was the popular belief among the Greeks and Romans as to a future life? But this question cannot be even briefly discussed at the end of a paper like this.

#### RE-MARRIAGE OF DIVORCED PERSONS.

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, July 10, 1891.

A REMARKABLE report has been presented by the Lower House of Convocation to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, on which many of their lordships are already pledged to act by their previous promise ; and the debate on the subject will be read in our columns this week with much interest.

The *gravamen* is that licences for marriage are issued from the courts and by the registrars of the Bishops to petitioners in divorce cases whose decree has been made absolute. It is true that they are the innocent parties, but by thus offering them facilities for being married quickly and privately, and with episcopal sanction, an approval is given by the authorities of the Church of England to connexions which have from primitive times been highly disapproved of by the Church, and in many cases forbidden. It goes of course without saying that no Bishop, or Archdeacon in his name, would grant any facility or the remotest favour to the re-marriage in church of the guilty party, and the clergyman who would perform such a marriage deserves to be inhibited by every Bishop on the bench, and to be "avoided by the whole multitude of the faithful." Whatever doubt might have existed in the mind of a Christian in ancient or modern times as to the second marriage of an innocent person after divorce,

there has never been the slightest doubt as to the wickedness of the marriage of guilty persons.

Good Bishop Horsley in the House of Lords thus expressed himself on the subject : "The marriage of a divorced adulteress with an adulterer is itself adultery by the law of God ;" and "I must again assert that the cohabitation of a wife divorced for adultery with a new husband is adultery, by the Divine law, since I have for that opinion the plain decision of our Lord Himself."

We specially dwell upon this point, because it has been reported in the papers that Mr. Parnell has expressed his intention to have the civil marriage, which was lately performed by himself and Mrs. O'Shea before the Brighton Registrar, "consecrated" by the Church's blessing and prayers, as soon as he can find time to complete the necessary residence in some London parish. That he will be foiled in his profane endeavours we can have no doubt. A more disgraceful piece of legislation was never perpetrated than the Act of 1857, which compels a clergyman, in spite of the Bishop and the law of the Church, to open his church, or chapel, and allow it to be used for the marriage contracts of guilty divorced persons, provided they can obtain the services of some clergyman (who must, of course, be licensed to officiate in the diocese), whose principles are lax enough to be purchased for the occasion. Luckily in Mr. Parnell's case this Act is inoperative. He and his partner are already "married" by the civilian ; and so far as the law is concerned, this cannot be reiterated.

A clergyman would be liable to prosecution, as a National Registrar, if he re-entered, as a legal document on the actual page of the Church Registrar, a marriage which has already been registered, and in the case of Mr. Parnell no doubt a prosecutor would be forthcoming. On the other hand, the fact of his marriage having been already registered at once relieves any incumbent from the unpleasant predicament of having perchance to permit his church to be so used.

It is sad, nevertheless, to think that it should be possible to find a clergyman, who for filthy lucre would pronounce the benediction of the Holy Trinity, and of Christ Himself, upon those, of whom God's words spoken by Moses said :—"The adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death," and who under the New Law are both dead to the Church, and, unless they repent and forsake their sins, are cast out

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as withered branches. For the hardness and unbelief of men's hearts the State may choose to permit such polluted contracts; but the only words of comfort which the Church could pronounce to them are those of her Master, "Go and sin no more;" absolute separation from the paramour, and a future life of celibacy are the only moral reparations possible, and the only evidences of repentance. The mere performance of a sham ceremony, which rivets two persons in the bonds of iniquity, could only imprint upon their consciences more deeply the Divine anathema of the Judge, whom they have mocked, "Whosoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery."

There is no question that these second marriages of the divorced, whether guilty or innocent, have caused that fearful increase in adultery, which defiles the land and its newspapers. The judges tell us so in letters addressed to the public. Common sense confirms their opinion. Without it adultery would almost cease to exist. The hope of being remarried suggests the sin. Whilst a woman is innocent, she is tied to her husband; but lust and this wicked divorce law, both the progeny of Satan, suggest that she can liberate herself by crime, and acquire new privileges, heightened by the romance of passion into something as desirable as Heaven, but which will be proved hereafter to be bitter as the Apples of Sodom.

Statistics prove it. Before the Divorce Act of 1857 the average of divorces in England was four in the year. Four in the week would now fall far below the mark. When this wicked craze for easy divorces commenced in Prussia, whence it spread to us, the Protestant and Evangelical pastors combined in 1851 to refuse to pronounce a marriage benediction on those divorced for adultery. They were supported by the State in their recalcitrance, because the number of divorces had actually reached about 3,000 a year, or ten a day; and the result of their action was that applications for divorce fell at once by one-third, and has continued to decrease.

To return to the question of Bishops' licences being issued for the re-marriage of the petitioners who are sinned against, our readers will feel thankful that the committee have so strongly urged upon the Bishops absolutely to withdraw them. It is most expedient in any case, and in most cases it is a scandal. Lord Eldon solemnly declared that nine out of every ten cases of divorce were founded upon the most infamous collusion between husband and wife; and it is

so still. The evidence is carefully withheld from the court, and it is difficult to get legal proof of it; but it is thoroughly well-known in the neighbourhood, where the parties have resided.

As to the Divine law, it is well to remember the fact that our Lord thrice repeated, without limitation, the words, "Whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery." He uses the same word each time, which means "loosed from the bond," and, in each case, the word stands absolutely by itself, and is not preceded by any definite article which can limit it to any particular case. The greatest of Greek scholars, Bishop Middleton, on *The Greek Article*, translates it, "*any one* that is divorced;" and he writes, "we must not render it *her* that is divorced (*i.e.*, for any particular cause, whether just or unjust), but generally, *any one* that is divorced for *whatsoever* cause." Winer also, in his *Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, writes to the same effect. Consequently, the case of the Christian wife is put beyond question. If she be innocent, she cannot make herself any party to the divorce *a vinculo*; and, if she be the guilty one, her re-marriage is prohibited as adultery. Thus St. Paul interprets our Lord's words in the Gospel, "Let not the wife depart (procure a divorce) from her husband. But and if she depart (procure a decree of separation) let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife." The only question left, therefore, is this: Is the husband, when placed in a certain predicament, permitted, in any case, to have a dissolution of alliance?

Canon Jeffreys, a very cautious and learned divine, does not believe that in primitive times there was any such thing as divorce *a vinculo*, from the chain of Matrimony, but only a separation from "bed and board." The Church of Rome also affirms that the marriage bond can never be dissolved, even by adultery (Council of Trent, Sess. xxiv. Canon 7); moreover, she pronounces an anathema on all who say she is in error in so affirming. Again, there is a long catena of early Fathers of the Church, both in East and West, who agree in so deciding, and who explain in another sense those words of our Lord in St. Matthew, which are altogether omitted in St. Mark and St. Luke, "save for fornication;" many of them suppose that our Lord simply meant to put on one side the case of *πορνεία*, which includes incest and adultery, and all the grosser forms of such sin, because the

Law of Moses (as well as that of many heathen nations) had already dealt with it by condemning those guilty of it to death. This, however, is a point too long for consideration. It is sad to think how Rome by the dispensations she has given to the rich and powerful, and by the various trivial causes for which she has decreed to annul the marriage contract, should have brought her own anathema on herself, and given reason to the civil powers to lightly esteem that bond, which is the source of domestic harmony and national righteousness. It is safest and best to accept the decree of the Council of Arles, as rightly interpreting the mind of Christ, and clearly expressing the voice of the Church, and with this decree the report of our committee are in exact accordance. Six hundred bishops (our own British bishops among them) assembled at Arles, A.D. 314. Some of those present wished to prohibit divorce even for adultery, as well as second marriage after it; but the Council having considered the case over-ruled the absolute prohibition, and resolved that whilst the innocent parties should be strongly advised to use every effort to refrain from a second marriage during the lifetime of their adulterous wives, yet that in their judgment the marriage was by our Lord's word permissible. The words of the 10th Canon of that Council are "Concerning those who convict their wives of adultery, and who are young, and are forbidden to marry, *it is decreed that, as far as possible, advice should be given them not to take other wives during the lifetime of their wives, although they be proved adulterous.*" Those who may wish to pursue the subject more deeply we recommend to read Bishop Wordsworth's Occasional Sermons, No. 50, and another in the volume on Religious Restoration—both preached in Westminster Abbey.

### THE DUTY OF PROGRESSIVE MEN AT A TIME OF THEOLOGICAL RE- ACTION.

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS BROWN, D.D., OF  
THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenomin.), New York, July 25,  
1891.

EVER since men began to think, there have been parties among the thinkers. The simplest and broadest distinction between them is the one that divides those who are

sure they know enough from those who are eager to learn more. Those who are thoroughly satisfied with what they know are apt to believe an attempt to learn more to be not only superfluous, but unsettling and dangerous. Those who are eager to know more may be agreed with their contented and motionless brethren on some fundamental matters, but they join issue at two points, and the more decidedly, the more alive they are to the lessons of history and the possibilities of the truth. For one thing, they cannot for a moment concede that truth at present not recognized is therefore unimportant; for another thing, they are convinced that the value of truth at present recognized depends largely on additions to the store made along the lines of growth. They hold that unless we keep on learning, the truth we already have loses its vitality. We cannot have life without the processes of life, and the processes of life mean expansion, longer reach, larger comprehension, firmer grasp. The progressive attitude is therefore sharply and of necessity opposed to the stationary and the reactionary. The two are always in conflict.

Human nature being as it is, these types are not always found in theoretical completeness. There are reactionaries with some progressive desires; there are progressives with something of the timidity and sluggishness of reactionaries. This makes the situation at a given time intricate, and right action difficult. Just now I am not concerned to help the reactionaries who would like to move on, but do not quite see the way. I am desirous only of setting down one or two rather obvious suggestions which, as a progressive, I make to myself, in the hope that they may be an encouragement to others like-minded. If I appear to assume too confidently that the progressive side is the right side in the conflict now going on in our Presbyterian Church, let it be remembered that I am not making a defense, or trying to gain sympathizers, but speaking to those who believe, as I myself do, that the progressive attitude is the only tenable one for a truth-lover, and who find their Church suddenly arraying itself, to all appearance, and by a great majority of its representatives, on the reactionary side. This is the situation. On a test question the General Assembly has declared itself against advance, and in favor of immobility; against breadth, and in favor of narrowness; against thoroughness, and in favor of superficiality; against the freedom of the spirit, and in favor of the bondage

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of the letter; against the power of the truth to win its own victories, and in favor of devices on various levels of human action to secure temporary advantage. Whether this was all intended and desired or not, this is the position of affairs as it presents itself to fair-minded progressive men. Under these conditions, the duty of such men must be serious and pressing. It appears to me to follow certain general lines, and if agreement can be had on these, there is great hope for the future, by as much as truth is stronger than its foes.

I. At a time of theological reaction, the first duty of men who desire to grow in the knowledge of the truth is *courage*. A large majority is doubtless a formidable opponent, but in matters of religious opinion a mere incidental majority settles nothing. It is not a thing to be really afraid of. A majority has no power, in the field of theology, beyond the intrinsic worth of the opinion it stands for. It may do much harm. It may injure the prospects of men. It may inflict deep pain. It may seem to put an end to human usefulness. It may threaten the prosperity of institutions. All these things, in the highest view, are by the way. The attainment of such ends as these is a triumph unworthy the thought of Christian people—an essentially unholy purpose, wherever and by whomsoever entertained. In the domain of truth these considerations have no pertinence. But these things exhaust the power of a majority, when the majority is wrong. No true belief is crushed by voting it down. No true teacher is really silenced by a gag. The wind is not held in check by shutting the doors. The sun is not extinguished by closing the blinds. All fresh truth has, in its time, had the majority against it. It has always conquered in the end. The Church of Christ is still in the minority on this earth. Preachers have no function more pressing than that of persuading men to shape their lives in resistance to the sweep of the current about them. So long as not all are perfectly wise, the same appeal is as needful in the sphere of thought as it is in the sphere of action. Those who desire to learn must have courage to press forward in the face of those who do not desire to learn, and do not desire that others shall learn. Progressive men are bound to be respectful to those who honestly differ, but they are also bound not to be overawed by them, and clamor ought to have no effect on them at all. Loyalty to truth is in question. Those who resist all change are sometimes inclined to think of themselves

as the only loyalists. They do so without right. The greater loyalty is surely on the side of the greater confidence. The man who trembles for the truth does no honor to the truth. Repugnance to unfamiliar opinion is quite as likely to be prejudice as it is to be fidelity, and dread of advance is more nearly akin to fear lest the truth may not be strong enough to maintain itself than it is to reverence for truth's mandates. I am speaking in generalities. Let me say distinctly that progressive men in the Presbyterian Church have no right to be down-cast at the great reactionary vote in the General Assembly. That vote has settled nothing, so far as the principles at stake are concerned. If it should prove—which I do not for a moment believe—that this vote means a commitment of the Presbyterian Church to the policy which was successful at the Assembly, this would signify, no doubt, weakening and disaster to the Presbyterian Church; but the kingdom of God is greater than any one Church, and would still grow and prevail. The duty and opportunity of all those who see in such a policy the attempt to put hindrances in the way of an advance into the regions of living truth which God himself, in his Word, in history, in external nature, in the soul of man, is opening to the inquirer, is to be bold, unfaltering, calm, and confident. It is time not for weakness, but for strength; not for hesitancy, but for decision; not for timid silence, but for valorous speech and vigorous action. Along such a path we shall march to real success.

II. The second duty of progressive men is *unity*. Independence tends to division. Each man who really thinks is tempted to follow his own course, regardless of his fellows. It is the strength of conservatism that it raises no questions. A conservative victory is won by standing still, and there are not so many ways of standing still as there are of going forward. The most conservative religious bodies in the world, such as the Roman Catholic Church, and still more the Greek Church, are the most solid and the most difficult to face, because, while they have their schools of thought,—their subordinate sections—they are still, in their large body, committed to standing by the traditional and opposing the unfamiliar. The strength of every reactionary influence lies in the fact that it wants nothing done. Passive unity is easier than active unity. But if the men of progress are to maintain themselves, and not be cut down one by one—especially if they cherish any desire of really influencing their Church and win-

ning the victory, not for themselves alone, but for all their brethren and for the truth, they must work in concert.

The essential matters now under debate are two. One is the question of liberty, the other is the province of historical theology. The question of liberty is fundamental. There is no possibility of advance in theological thought, unless, within the limits of our common Christianity, and on the basis of our inherited creeds, there is freedom to inquire in what direction advance is possible, and freedom to attempt an advance along the way that promises an open passage to the resolution of difficulties, and the answer to the imperious questionings of the soul. With really disloyal thinking we are not concerned. Such thinking is not a matter of debate in the present crisis. No fairly intelligent man pretends that it is. Liberty for honest, reverent, Bible-loving, truth seeking inquiry is what we must have, if there is to be any larger appropriation of God's truth in any of its forms. Progressive men should see to it that they sink all minor differences in the determination to reserve such liberty for themselves and their kind at the present, and for the whole Church of the days to come.

The question of liberty is the formal question. The material question relates to historical theology—that is to say, to theological study conducted in the historic spirit. Insistence on this is simply insistence on the fact that whatever is historically true is to be attained by historic methods; that historical lessons are to be learned only by historical study; that nothing is dogmatically true which is historically false; that it is far more fruitful to know what has been and what is, than to dogmatize about what must have been or must be, and that this greater fruitfulness is due to the greater truth of the method—its conformity to the reality of things; that the faculties with which we are endowed are given to enable us to arrive at truth by this method, and that, while neither this nor any other mode of ordinary mental operation can ever for a moment stand in the place of that inward and abiding conviction which is the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of those who trustfully receive him, yet that this is the only possible mode of assuring ourselves of those historic elements in our faith that connect us with the past, make the Bible the revelation of God's dealings with mankind in grace, and the Church the perpetual witness to his power and his love. Applied to the record of

events, the historic method brings us to the only real certainty we can secure, as to the reality of the events and the accuracy of the record. Applied to the record of teachings, the historic method brings us to the only real certainty we can attain as to the original setting, and therefore the original significance, of the teaching, and this offers the only sound basis for determining what is the significance of the teaching for ourselves in this later day. No method of study can be made a substitute for direct experience of divine power. This is not a sermon, and I am not trying to emphasize the personal and practical elements of religious certainty. I am speaking of the student's obligation to the truth held out to him, and of the way in which, by the intelligent use of his endowments, he is called upon to build the buttresses of the structure of truth which the Holy Spirit erects in the trusting soul, and to enrich its contents from the patient toil of the mind. The General Assembly has seemed to say, by its vote, that it will approve what it has been in the habit of thinking true, to the exclusion of that which the only possible method of real study points out as true. The issue, be it observed, is not about the way of salvation, the love of God, the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the opportunity of men—those great themes which lie underneath all Christian theology, and in regard to which the Church decided, last year, that it desired a new and fuller expression of its faith. It is about matters which belong chiefly in the field of historical inquiry, which depend upon facts not upon theories, which party votes cannot establish nor disprove. Liberty for a historical study of theology, and historical study of theology is the student's proper use of Christian liberty—these are the great matters upon which, as the ringing watchwords of the struggle, progressive men in this reactionary year ought heartily to unite, these are the ends which, in the name of the Church of the present, and still more in the name of the Church of the future, they ought to secure.

III. A third duty of progressive men in a time of reaction is *simplicity*. This involves frankness, and therefore depends upon courage. It involves direct perception of issues, and therefore works to unity. It signifies also straightforward thinking and dignified, self-respecting action in all the relations of theological life. It is impossible to trimmers, for trimmers are always more or less thoroughly, and more or less consciously, double-dealers. It means adherence to conviction, which need not be

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unconciliatory, but must be uncompromising. It means refusal to be threatened or cajoled or persuaded into acquiescence in any situation from which the barriers to progress have not been removed. It means sturdy resistance to the idea, often plausibly put forward, that one may secure a measure of peace by amiable concessions and still gain the ends which in the circumstances can be gained only through conflict. It means unwearied, simple fidelity to the men and the ideas about which the issue centers. Diplomacy is sometimes useful, but when reactionary men are carrying things with confidence and a high hand, diplomacy is out of place. Temporizers at such a time league themselves with the enemies of progress.

These are not divisive words. The party of progress has no desire to cut the Church in two, or to drive out of it those who differ. Nor does it desire to foment disputes within the Church. It does, indeed, long to have a comprehensive Church. It does believe that just as parties in a State check and educate each other, and the State is better off because they are there, just as it would be an unspeakable calamity if the defeated party in a political election were to attempt to withdraw and set up a new State, so the two tendencies of thought—the one holding primarily to the old, the other pushing forward eagerly to the new—have mutual functions and compensate each other, and together serve to make a better Church than one could be without either of them. The party of progress is never the party of intolerance. The sharp division has been made by those who would like to cast out the party of progress altogether. We are not willing to go. We insist on our right to stay—and not on sufferance, but as a part of the Church, equally entitled to all its privileges with every other part. We seek no quarrels. For myself, no man living shrinks more instinctively than I do from theological conflict, or feels more keenly its wastefulness and its incongruity with the higher ideals of the Church of Christ. But to avoid it now would be pusillanimous and faithless. The responsibility for it is not with those who express their honest, earnest apprehension of God's truth as revealed to men, but with those who try to intimidate, to repress, and to silence. We desire from the bottom of our hearts to work with all who are working for our Lord, in doctrine and in practice. The field of the world is white to the harvest. We long to have the Lord send forth well-equipped laborers into the harvest, and

to labor in it ourselves, for him. We do not wish to spend our days in acrimonious and expensive debate. But Christian liberty and the attainment of fresh truth are conditions of the most effective service. We dare not allow ourselves to be deprived of the one nor held back from the other. We intend—I am sure that in this I may speak for the progressive men as a body—we intend to hold on our way, with courage and unity and simplicity, trusting in the God of truth, and leaving the results with him. Our firm belief is that he will so order the affairs of his Church—so stimulate those who are holding back, and so guide those who are pressing forward—that all his faithful ones will at last work shoulder to shoulder, heart beating with heart—all learning his lessons, all doing his will, all rejoicing in the variety and beauty and power of his kingdom on the earth, all entering at his summons, with clarified vision and the assurance of his grace, upon the larger lessons and more satisfying service of his kingdom in heaven.

## DENOMINATIONAL HONESTY.

BY REV. W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D.

From *The New York Observer* (Undenomin.), July 23, 1891.

HONESTY is as important in theology as in trade and commerce, in a religious denomination as in a political party. Denominational honesty consists, first, in a clear unambiguous statement by a Church of its doctrinal belief; and, second, in an unequivocal and sincere adoption of it by its members. Both are requisite. If a particular denomination makes a loose statement of its belief which is capable of being construed in more than one sense, it is so far dishonest. If the creed of the denomination is well drawn and plain, but the membership subscribe to it with mental reservation and uncertainty, the denomination is dishonest. Honesty and sincerity are founded in clear conviction, and clear conviction is founded in the knowledge and acknowledgment of the truth. Heresy is a sin, and is classed by St. Paul among the "works of the flesh," along with "adultery, idolatry, murder, envy, and hatred," which exclude from the kingdom of God (Gal. 5 : 19-21). But heresy is not so great a sin as dishonesty. There may be honest heresy, but not honest dishonesty. A

heretic who acknowledges that he is such, is a better man than he who pretends to be orthodox while subscribing to a creed which he dislikes, and which he saps under pretence of improving it and adapting it to the times. The honest heretic leaves the Church with which he no longer agrees; but the insincere subscriber remains within it in order to carry out his plan of demoralization.

The recent discussions in the Presbyterian Church have disclosed a difference of sentiment respecting the value of denominational honesty. Some of the secular newspapers charge intolerance and persecution upon Presbyterians, when departures from the Church creed are made the subject of judicial inquiry, and when individuals are required to conform their teaching from the pulpit or the chair to the denominational standards. In this way a part of the public press is conniving at denominational dishonesty. It would permit church officers to subscribe to a creed and derive the benefit of subscription in the form of reputation or emolument, while working against it. The creed of a Church is a solemn *contract* between church-members; even more so than the platform of a political party is between politicians. The immorality of violating a contract, a portion of the press does not seem to perceive when a religious denomination is concerned; but when a political party is the body to be affected by the breach of a pledge, none are sharper to see and none are more vehement to denounce the double-dealing. Should a faction arise within the Republican party, for example, and endeavor to alter the platform while still retaining the offices and salaries which they had secured by professing entire allegiance to the party, and promising to adopt the fundamental principles upon which it was founded and by which it is distinguished from the Democratic and other political parties, the charge of political dishonesty would ring through the whole rank and file of Republicanism. And when in the exercise of party discipline such factionists are turned out of office, and perhaps expelled from the political organization, if the cry of political heresy-hunting and persecution should be raised, the only answer vouchsafed by the Republican press would be that of scorn. When political dishonesty would claim toleration under cover of more "liberal" politics than the party is favoring, and would keep hold on party emoluments while advocating different sentiments from those of the mass of the party, it is curiously told that no one is compelled to join the

Republican party or to remain in it, but that if a person does join it or remain in it, he must strictly adopt the party creed and make no attempts, secret or open, to alter it. That a Republican creed is for Republicans and no others, seems to be agreed on all sides; but that a Calvinistic creed is for Calvinists and no others, seems to be doubted by some.

The advocates of this view of a church creed and of creed subscription defend it upon the ground that it is proper to introduce improvements into a denominational creed; that the progress in physics and the spirit of the age require new statements of ethics and religion; and that this justifies the rise within a denomination of a party to make them and requires that the denomination quietly look on and see it done. This means, for illustration, that a Church adopting the historical eschatology is bound to allow such of its members as think restorationism is an improvement, to attempt the introduction of it into the articles of faith; or that a Church adopting the Wesleyan Arminianism is obligated to let any of its members who think unconditional election preferable to conditional, endeavor to Calvinize it by introducing this tenet. But should a corresponding liberty be demanded in the political sphere, it would meet with no favor. If in the heart of the Democratic party a school should arise who should claim the right, while still remaining in the party, to convert the body to Republican principles and measures, it would be told that the proper place for such a project is outside of Democracy, not within it. The right of the school to its own opinions would not be disputed, but the right to maintain and spread them with the funds and influence of the Democratic party would be denied. Democrats to a man would employ Luther's illustration in a similar instance: "We cannot prevent the birds from flying over our heads, but we can prevent them from making their nests in our hair." They would say to the malcontents, "We cannot prevent you from having your own peculiar views and do not desire to, but you have no right to ventilate them in our organization." Should the officers of the New York Custom-house or Post-office insist upon employing the salaries of these large institutions in transforming the politics of the party that placed them there, no cry of "persecution" would deter the party from immediately cashiering the whole set. And yet some of the secular press, and some also of the religious, contend that it is proper for subscribers to the Westminster

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Confession to attempt a radical alteration of the denominational theology from within the denomination, and that it is suppressing free inquiry and the right of private judgment when seven-eighths of the Presbyterian Church, represented in its highest court, put a veto upon such an attempt.

In such ecclesiastical action there is no denial of the right of private judgment and of free inquiry into any system of doctrine whatever; only, it is claimed that those who dissent from the accepted creed of the denomination, if they are a minority, must go outside of it if they wish to construct a new scheme. The satisfied majority have the right of free inquiry and private judgment as well as the dissatisfied minority, and in the exercise of it stand by the creed as it is. Consequently, if discontent with the denominational standard arises in the minds of some, the proper place for their experiments in theologizing is within a new organization, and not in the old one which does not like their experiments. For this reason, from time immemorial, a religious denomination has always claimed the right to expel persons who are heretics as judged by the denominational creed. Only in this way can a denomination live and prosper. To throw down its doctrinal limits and convert itself into an unfenced common for all varieties of belief to ramble over, would not be useful either to society or religion.

But here the question arises, Who is to interpret the church creed, and say whether a proposed scheme of doctrine agrees with it, or contradicts it? Who is to say what is heresy from the standpoint of the denominational system? Certainly the denomination, and not the individual or school who is charged with heresy. This is a point of great importance. For those who are charged with heterodoxy commonly define orthodoxy in their own way, and claim not to have departed from what they regard as the essentials of the denominational system. The Arminian party in the Dort controversy contended that their modifications of doctrine were moderate and not antagonistic to the Reformed creeds. The Semi-Arians in the English Church asserted that their view of the Trinity did not differ essentially from that of the Nicene fathers. In each of these instances, the accused party complained that their statements were misapprehended by their opponents, and contended that the Church was mistaken in supposing that they could not be harmonized with the ancestral faith. The same assertion of being misunderstood and the

same claim to be orthodox marks the existing trial in the Presbyterian Church.

Now in determining what is the true meaning of the phraseology in a proposed alteration of the denominational creed, and what will be the natural influence of it if it is allowed to be taught, it is plain that it is for the denomination to decide. In case of a difference in understanding and interpreting a written document containing proposed changes in the church creed, the rule of the common law applies, that the accused party cannot be the final judge of the meaning and tendency of his own document, but that the court must be. And the denomination is the court. There is no hardship or unfairness in this. A denominational judgment is very certain to be equitable, be it in Church or State. The history of politics shows that the decisions of the great political parties respecting the real meaning of their platforms, and the conformity of individuals with them, have generally been correct. And the history of religion also shows that the judgments of the great ecclesiastical bodies respecting the teachings of their standards and the agreement or disagreement of particular schools of theology with them have been accurate. Those individuals and parties who have been declared to be heterodox, politically or theologically, by the deliberate vote of the body to which they belonged, have generally been so. It is rare that the majority has been in error, and the minority in the right.

## SEVEN BLESSINGS FOR THE TRUE CHRISTIAN.

BY REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, July 23, 1891.

THE Bible is a book that both drives and draws. It drives the sinner out of his perilous places and his refuges of lies; it portends that day of judgment when God will drive away into endless punishment the willful rejecters of His grace. But the chief power of the Bible and of Christianity is its drawing power. If its righteous threatenings are terrible, its invitations into the way of life are as winsome as divine love can make them. God holds out the most urgent arguments and attractive promises; it seems sometimes as if He went down on His knees to implore guilty men to become reconciled to Him and accept the offers of His love.

One of the most alluring group of prom-

ises to be found in the Bible is that which is contained in the closing verses of the Ninety-first Psalm. It is a passage seldom preached about, and thousands of Christians may pass by this nugget of pure gold without picking it up to examine it closely. Here are the seven blessings which God promises, not to everybody, but to those who love Him and serve Him. "Because he hath set his love upon Me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him on high because he hath known My name. He shall call upon Me and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honor him. With long life will I satisfy him and show him My salvation." All these precious blessings belong to those who set their hearts on God. It is love for love. What a wonderful paymaster God is! In return for what we give Him, He bestows things a million-fold richer. Brother, just look at what your Heavenly Father sends to you as distinctly as if your name were written on the parcel, and surely if there were in the post office a letter addressed to you and inclosing a check for a thousand dollars you would call quickly at the office for it.

1. The first blessing is *deliverance* in all the far-reaching signification of that word. You were down in that dark hole of guilt and bondage—"sold under sin"—just as Paul describes it in the seventh chapter to the Romans. Christ struck off your fetters. The hand pierced for you on the cross led you up out of the darkness into the daylight. "There is *no condemnation* to them" that Christ has delivered from the tyranny and the hell-deserts of sin. With this deliverance comes joy, such as the one feels who has been snatched out of a building in flames. All you did was to grasp hold of Christ by faith, and He brought you out and put the new song into your mouth.

2. The second blessing is *safety*. God sets every forgiven, redeemed soul upon a fortified rock where neither foe nor flood can destroy him. When I intrust my soul to Jesus He says to my soul, "I am thy salvation." There is no guesswork about the salvation of the genuine follower of Christ any more than there is about the rising of to-morrow's sun. It does not depend on my say or the say of any man. Only God can give the decisive and infallible assurance to us that we are *safe* for this world and for eternity. We open the ivory chamber of St. John's Gospel and read these glorious words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth My word and believeth

Him that sent Me hath eternal life and cometh not into judgment." Again Jesus says in the same Gospel: "I know My sheep and they follow Me, and I give unto them eternal life and they shall never perish; and no one shall snatch them out of My hand." While we stay in His hands we are safe, and we have a right to feel all the serenity which Christ's ownership can inspire. Faith in Christ is the milk, assurance of salvation is the cream which rises on it. The richer the milk the more abundant will be the cream. Paul had the witness of the Spirit that he was Christ's. There was an inward conviction and an outward life: the two corresponded with each other. They both corresponded, also, to the Bible description of a true Christian. When a tree produces the leaves and blossoms of a peach and the fruit of a peach we are sure that it is a peach-tree. When a man feels the love of Jesus in his soul and strives to keep the commandments of Jesus every day he has the witness of the Holy Spirit that he is in Christ, and being in Christ he is safe. Go about your life work, my brother or sister, and do it thoroughly. God is responsible for the results and your reward. If I check my baggage to Boston, it is not mine till I get there; it belongs to the baggage-master. Surely I ought to have as strong an assurance that my soul is safe in Christ's keeping as I have that my trunk is safe in the charge of a railway official.

3. The third blessing is, "He shall call upon Me and I will answer him." Don't misunderstand this, and imagine that it gives you an unlimited key to God's storehouse to help yourself to all you fancy. His promises are not unconditional. He does not promise to cash every check you see fit to draw. All He agrees to do is to "*answer*" you, and the answer is not to be dictated by your selfish wish but by His wise and holy will. "Delight thyself in the Lord and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart." Then you and He are at one. He loves to bestow when we covet the *best* gifts. The right to decide what is for our real benefit and for His glory belongs to Him. I suppose that the richest blessing that prayer can bring is to bring us into entire submission to God and closer fellowship with God. A man stands in the bow of a boat and draws upon a line attached to the shore. His pull does not move the solid ground, but it does move his boat toward the land. Your faith cannot move the everlasting throne but it draws you closer to it, and the more your heart gets into har-

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mony with God the more will you receive of what your heart desires. But I don't believe that God ever left a reasonable and unselfish prayer entirely *unanswered* yet, or that He ever will do so while the eternal throne stands.

4. The fourth blessing is God's presence in times of trouble. The promise of the Master is, "Lo! I am with you always;" and that means that when and where we need Him most He is sure to be with us. When the midnight tempest howls His form is on the billows, and the sight of Him keeps the heart calm and quiet. When the furnace grows hot He is beside us. I don't care much about my family physician when my pulse and appetite are all right; I want him when sickness begins to coat my tongue with fever. A Saviour that should desert me when I need Him most would be no Saviour for me. And trouble with Jesus at my side is a better condition for me than a dangerous state of prosperity without His eye on me and without my heart on Him.

5. "I will *honor* him" is the fifth promise to every genuine Christian. Conversion brings us into the royal family and gives us a right to all the privileges of the sons of God. We sit at the King's table and can feed on the royal dainties. Fashion may outlaw us, or "society" snub us, or injustice defame us, but God never turns His back on a righteous man. "Them that honor Me, I will honor." There will be a wonderful overturning and changing of places in the next world when the last shall be first and the first shall be last. Christ will be the "executor" of His last will and testament, and the heirs will all come into their magnificent inheritance.

6. Then, however long or short our earthly lives may be according to the calendar, we shall be "*satisfied*." We live in deeds, not years, although it is actually true that keeping God's commandments has a tendency to promote health and long life. But whether the date on our tombstones mark an early or a late home-going every child of God lives long enough to fulfil the heavenly will, and after that to depart and be with Christ is far better.

7. The seven-fold jewel cluster of promises closes with this thrilling announcement, "I will show him My salvation." The real meaning of that passage is, as I understand it, that God will show us the inexpressible glories of heaven. He shall introduce His faithful children into these looked-for splendors and these longed-for joys. The only disappointment will be that heaven is infinitely beyond our most

ecstatic expectations. What a seven-fold chorus of blessings are these with which that Ninety-first Psalm concludes! And if these are only a portion of the blessings which the religion of Jesus Christ can secure to us, who would not wish to be a Christian?

## A CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH IMPERIOUS ECCLESIASTICISM.

BY JAMES M. KING, D.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, July 30, 1891.

As the representative of "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," an organization of patriotic citizens of differing religious and political beliefs, whose purpose is thus expressed, "to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common-school system and other American institutions, and to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds," we have had occasion and opportunity to study the question of Indian education, because it involved the questions both of the integrity of the American free common-school system of education and sectarian appropriations by the National Government, which we claim to be not only contrary to both the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution, but a perilous example in its influence upon the several States.

The crisis to which we refer is the dissolution of partnership between the United States Government and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, a dangerous partnership which never ought to have been consummated.

The action of General Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in severing official relations between the Indian Office and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, is one of great significance, is worthy of careful study, and should receive the cordial indorsement of every American citizen. While it is true that the immediate occasion of the action was the unstinted abuse which had been heaped upon him by the bureau and its attaches, we are quite sure that the commissioner would never have resorted to so serious a measure even for the

sake of administering a well-deserved punishment.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to what we regard as the real significance of this action. In the first place, it is a very proper assertion of the official dignity of the head of a great Government Bureau. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is charged with the responsibility of administering one of the most difficult offices of the Government. His duties are various, complex, delicate, and continuous. Unfortunately, the bureau over which he presides has been for many years regarded, whether justly or not, as corrupt, and it is very difficult, under the most favorable circumstances, for any commissioner, however honest or able, to administer it satisfactorily. During his administration of two years the present commissioner has shown himself honest, able, and fearless, and has won for himself the strong support of those best acquainted with his services.

When, notwithstanding this, he was persistently vilified and slandered by a bureau that was in almost daily official relations with his office, he had a right to say to that bureau, as he did, that instead of dealing with it, he would deal directly with the schools that it represented. In his official position he represents the people of America, and is under the highest obligation to uphold by all proper means the essential dignity which, for the time, in his sphere, he represents.

In the second place the action is significant as an assertion of the right of the Government, which represents the whole people, to transact public business with a view to public ends, and not at the dictation of an organization representing only a small minority. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which represents a respectable but small part of the American public, has been prosecuting its work by its own peculiar methods for more than twenty years, and has succeeded not only in diverting to its own treasury millions of dollars of public funds, but has grown insolent and dictatorial, and has attempted to control the Government in both its administrative and legislative functions. It is notorious that for some years past the Indian Office has been in its educational work largely controlled by the Catholic Bureau, and Commissioner Morgan in refusing to submit any longer to its dictation has simply performed a most obvious duty devolving upon him as a public servant.

That feature of the situation which is,

perhaps, most obnoxious to the American people is, that the Catholic Bureau is a strictly sectarian institution, an ecclesiastical organization, representing a Church, one of the many Churches which enjoy the freedom of America, which, contrary to the whole spirit of our American institutions, insists arrogantly and offensively in asserting its right as an ecclesiastical body to control Government action. Its presence at the capital is a menace to Protestantism, awakens widespread unrest, and threatens serious religious controversies. Commissioner Morgan in refusing any longer to subject his office to this sectarian control has performed an act of patriotism.

Then, again, this action calls the attention of the American people very strongly to a most glaring misappropriation of public funds. The appropriation of public money for the maintenance of parochial schools among the Indians is violently antagonistic to the spirit of our Constitution, at variance with the genius of our institutions, and clearly opposed to public policy. While the action of the commissioner in severing relations with the bureau does not strike directly at sectarian appropriations, it indirectly forces that question to the front, and calls for its consideration. When it has been fully considered by the American people, there can be no doubt whatever that they will utterly condemn such misuse of public money.

It is worthy of special note that the commissioner, by his action, while continuing the support of Church schools at public expense as he must for the time, brings these schools more immediately under Government supervision, which will insure more harmonious relations between the Church and the Government schools, and will promote the work and efficiency of Indian education. It is well-known to many that in several respects the work of the schools under the control of the Catholic Bureau is very defective. The industrial training, particularly of boys, is almost wholly neglected, inferior teachers are employed, and the one essential work of training Indian pupils in the use of the English language is largely overlooked. Too much stress is laid upon the inculcation of sectarian dogmas, and too little upon the preparation of the Indian pupils for useful citizenship. The superiority of the Government schools in almost every respect for the ends for which such schools are organized is clearly apparent to every one acquainted with the facts.

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which is that the action of the commissioner has an important bearing upon the welfare of the public-school system of America. Since 1876 the Government has been engaged in the work of developing a system of Government industrial schools for the Indians, and while the work is still in its infancy some of these schools, as at Carlisle, Genoa, Lawrence, Chillico, and Albuquerque, have been brought to a high degree of efficiency. During the two years of Commissioner Morgan's administration this work has received a great impulse, and more has been accomplished for it than ever before in the same length of time.

The one great purpose of these Government institutions is, by a system of moral, intellectual, and industrial training, carried on by persons specially chosen because of their fitness for the work, and in accordance with the most approved modern methods, entirely free from partisan or sectarian control, to fit the rising generation of American Indians for the responsibilities and privileges of freedom. The parochial schools represented by the Catholic Bureau, administered solely in the interests of the Church, making the Catholic catechism the substance of its instruction, have of necessity for their chief purpose the propagation of Catholicism. Not only are these two theories radically repugnant to each other, but they have been the source of much friction in the practical work of Indian education. Those representing the parochial schools and favoring their extension are jealous of the Government institutions, do all they dare to do to prevent or limit their success, and by threats and ecclesiastical penalties keep away from them Indian children over whom they have any control. If there is one matter which is dear to the American heart it is the success of the public-school system, and the course of Commissioner Morgan in asserting the right of the Government to establish and maintain for the Indians an efficient system of public schools, unsectarian and without partisan bias, is worthy of all praise.

We believe that when the American public fully understands the merits of this controversy they will well-nigh unanimously and heartily approve the action of the commissioner as wise, patriotic, and statesmanlike. The thoughtful and patriotic sentiment of our citizenship will sustain the President and the Secretary of the Interior in what we believe to be their determination to sustain their manly and trusted representative—the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

## THE DENOMINATIONS AND CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

BY REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, August 6, 1891.

It is a fundamental principle of Christian endeavor that in no sense whatever does it seek to damage, or in the least to lessen, denominational fealty. Both in principle and method Christian endeavor does precisely otherwise. The whole trend and influence of Christian endeavor is to make, for example, a young Baptist Christian but the more thoroughly and devotedly a Baptist. That Christian endeavor sedulously helps rather than hinders denominational fealty was strikingly shown, both in announcement and action, in the recent marvellous Christian Endeavor Convention at Minneapolis.

### IN ANNOUNCEMENT.

Here are some specimens. Every one of these announcements was unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed and ratified by the vast hosts of Christian endeavor, from twelve to fifteen thousand strong, and representing a constituency beyond a million, in convention assembled:

"This convention disclaims all authority over the local societies. The sole authority, under Christ, to which any Christian endeavor society should look, is the church of which it is a part."

"That we recommend that all our societies adopt the so-called 'revised pledge,' which contains the clause, 'I will make it the rule of my life to support my church in every way, especially by attending all her regular Sunday and midweek services, unless prevented by a reason which I can conscientiously give to my Saviour.'"

"To emphasize this underlying principle, we also recommend that each society submit important measures and proposed lists of officers to the pastor and the official members of the church for their approval."

"That we deem the employment of salaried State secretaries as unwise, as conflicting with the principle that each Christian endeavor society exists solely in and for its own church."

In the re-affirmation of Christian endeavor principles, these were declared to be among its principles—steadfast personal love and service for the local church in which a society of Christian endeavor exists. The church for each local society is the local church with which it is connected.

"Christian endeavor interposes no barriers to the denominational control of the

young people, and rejoices when denominations suggest special lines of scriptural study, of denominational indoctrination, of denominational missionary activity, local, home, and foreign."

It is surely safe to ask if words could put the duty of denominational fealty more plainly or more strongly?

#### IN ACTION.

But not only did Christian endeavor announce such principles of denominational fealty, but acted on them; and its action was as thorough and unanimous as were its words.

It was a most surpassing and inspiring sight when all those thronging thousands stood up to declare that they would, each one of them, systematically give a definite sum for foreign missions, and that each one would also promise to seek to make every one of the million or more of Christian endeavorers do the same. But those pledging thousands by that solemn standing, promised also that all the moneys accruing thus to foreign missions, and the amount will be hundreds of thousands of dollars, should be sent to and disbursed by the foreign mission boards of their several denominations. The systematic beneficence of the members of Christian endeavor societies in our Baptist churches, will go to our beloved Missionary Union—precisely there, no other where.

But not only did Christian endeavor thus announce and act in this direction of denominational fealty, it acted in rigid accordance with this principle of denominational fealty, even though to so act, all these gathered thousands must annul an action just taken. I am sure in all my life, I never saw a grander or more noble sight. I do not think such sight and deed could be matched in all the Christian annals since the Spirit came at Pentecost. On Sunday afternoon, when the enormous hall was thronged to repletion, it was proposed that in the evening a collection be made, in which every member of Christian endeavor present should give five cents, no more, in order that Father Endeavor Clark might take a tour around the world in the interest of the Christian endeavor movement. Appeal was made to do this as an expression of affection for our beloved and honored president, Dr. Clark. It was one of those suggestions which in any convention, are likely to occur. It was lovingly, though unintentionally, sprung upon the convention without previous passage through the proper committee. Any one who knows how members of Christian endeavor love

and honor Dr. Clark, can understand how, as with the swiftness of a lightning flash, all Christian endeavor hearts rush for the chance to tell their affection for him. The whole vast audience sprang to their feet to declare their assent to the proposition. But when, a few moments afterwards, it was explained to those hosts of consecrated and loving young Christians, that, inasmuch as Christian endeavor will not carry a semblance even of control over the young people which could be so much as imagined to clash with the right denominational control; that, therefore, Christian endeavor deems the employment of salaried State secretaries unwise because such method would conflict with the principle that each Christian endeavor society exists solely in and for its own church, and that the action of the convention just taken might be understood as conflicting with such fundamental Christian endeavor principle, then, even though in this case, President Clark, beloved and honored, was personally concerned, without a moment's hesitation, without so much as a hint of debate, those Christian endeavor hosts annulled the action they had just taken, and rising, every one of them, in every part of the vast hall, voted that such money, instead of being devoted to Father Clark, albeit it was to be used for helping on the Christian endeavor movement, should be given instead to the cause of missions, and should be sent to, and disbursed by the various mission boards and societies of the denominations there represented. It was a specimen of what our beloved Father Endeavor Clark calls "fidelity," inexpressibly splendid.

The truth is—oh! that brethren would see the truth—this Christian endeavor movement comes as the summer comes to each seed and shrub and tree in this garden and in that, not to make the bloom and verdure in each garden less, but to make it, in each garden, more. Oh, blessed and benignant movement of Christian endeavor! Let me write again what I have before so gladly said—written—the best thing that can come to any pastor is a Christian endeavor society in his own church.

#### THE OLD GOSPEL AND THE NEW.

BY REV. NEWMAN HALL.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 23, 1891.

THIS is an age of novelties. Science multiplies its revelations of Nature, Art its inventions, Commerce its methods, Indus-

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try its machineries, Philosophy its theories, Politics its plans. Many are eager for novelties in religion—modern thought, new light, theology adapted to the present day. They are weary of the old Gospel of Luther and Calvin, of Leighton and Baxter, of Wesley and Whitfield. Perhaps in many cases this may arise from lack of personal experience of the old Gospel, dislike of its claims, indifference to its privileges, and a worldly restlessness, which ever is saying: "Who will show us any good." But it may also simply mean weariness of the methods of a former generation; not of the truth itself, but of the mode of stating it. On the other hand, there are multitudes who more and more cling to the "old Gospel," and demand it as the chief essential in Christian preachers.

There can be but one Gospel. Is not this both old and new? St. John in his old age said: "Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the beginning." (1 John ii. 11.) In the preceding part of this letter he had stated the fundamental truths of the old Gospel—the Incarnation, universal depravity, the Propitiation for the sins of the world, deliverance from the guilt and power of sin by the blood of Christ, who is our "Advocate with the Father;" and *walking* in the light, as the test of *possessing* the light. This is the Gospel of which he says: "Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you." I do not in my old age announce any new discovery after many years of contemplation. I have no fresh development of the faith once delivered to the saints. It is the old truth taught by Christ himself, and by the Holy Ghost through the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, "the word which ye have heard from the beginning."

Yet he adds: "Again, a new commandment I write unto you." "Again," *i.e.*, viewed in another aspect, not something different, but the old word otherwise contemplated. The old, with which you are familiar, is newly stated, is again enforced, with new experience of its value, new proofs of its power.

The old Gospel is ever new to every soul to whom it is first proclaimed; new both to him who thus announces it, and to him who thus receives it. How new it is to the heathen world, and equally new to the ungodly around us when revealed by the Spirit of God. What a wondrous revelation, what a new existence! "From darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God!" They who may be tempted to weary of it as

old have only to urge it on the attention of some one who is ignorant of it, and it will become new as he teaches it and watches the blind eye opening to behold it!

The old truth becomes new by fresh reception and experience. The Gospel presented is old, received is new; looked at outside is objectively old, received within is subjectively new; old as the storehouse, new as my daily supplies; old as the ancient fountain gushing from the rock as it did millenniums ago, new as the particular water which fills my empty cup to slake my returning thirst; old as the sun, new as the beams that each morning stream through my windows to rouse me from slumber and help me in the new work of the new day. The Tree of Life is the same which grew in Paradise, but it ever produces new fruit, old in nature and efficacy, new to me in the nourishment it yields, in the life it sustains. It will still be both old and new in the Paradise above. "It yieldeth its fruit every month, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations."

We have no other Gospel than the old, which Christ and the Apostles taught. But as St. Paul became "all things to all men," so new circumstances may require new adaptations—new modes of speech, new methods of work, additional evidences. We need no new theology, but ever new power from the Holy Ghost in new efforts to enforce the old. There is danger of young preachers thinking that to satisfy the demand for other novelty is the best evidence of intellectual power. But is it not easier to attract and please by novelties than so to preach the old truth that it is felt to be ever new? Is there not enough in the old Bible in passing events and existing conditions to furnish new illustrations and enforcements of old truths? Would not the soundest learning and the strongest intellect, sanctified by the Divine Spirit, be better employed and manifested in holding up to view, so that men must be arrested and interested, the reality of the old Gospel, than in multiplying gaudy pictures of our own fancy, lighted up by flashy squibs?

In following the example of the Apostles in preaching this old and new Gospel we are their true successors. We are more. St. John says: "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you that ye also may have *fellowship* with us." *Fellowship* is more than *fellow-ship*; it is partnership more than successorship. We have their Gospel, their Christ, their Holy Spirit. We work their higher miracles. Christ said, "Greater works than these shall ye

do." It is a greater work to raise a soul from spiritual death to life eternal than to raise from the grave a dead body which will soon return to it. If thus we are actual partners with the Apostles and in preaching their old Gospel are daily witnessing such miracles, "God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ."

LONDON, ENGLAND.

### A SABBATH IN THE LAND OF DYKES.

BY REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D.

From *The Illustrated Christian Weekly* (Udenom.), New York, August 1, 1891.

HOLLAND is a country full of interest to Americans. Here is the source and fountain-head of much of the science, theology and politics of our own country of federated States. Here a little Protestant republic defied the might of the Inquisition, of the Pope, of giant despotism, of Spain. Here the Puritan refugees from Great Britain found rest and shelter. Here the Pilgrims were mellowed and tempered for their mighty work in a new world. Here, too, was wrought out that prolonged experience in republican government, which both the first founders and the constitution-makers of our country utilized so well in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To no one country on earth is Christian civilization more indebted for invention, science, art, political wisdom, practical charity, learning, agriculture, engineering, and the manifold forces that make up modern life, than to Holland. Other nations, more territorially and otherwise materially great, have outstripped her in the race for glory, but the debt of the world to "Netherland," and the inspiring example of the Dutch Republic to America must never be forgotten.

One of our purposes in spending a month in the land lower than the sea level, was to pry into the secrets of the power, tenacity and seriousness of the Dutch character. We wanted to learn how and why a tiny country, about the size of one of our smaller States, was able at one time to lead Protestant Christendom in the assertion of intellectual freedom. How it came to pass that for two centuries this country maintained a republic, in which toleration and many of the principles which we count peculiarly American were paramount, was the purpose of our inquiry. How was it?

We cannot here, in one letter, tell all we think; but, besides considering the race traits with which God gifted the Germanic peoples, one thing must not be forgotten. Holland was one of the first countries in Europe to possess the Word of God in the common language of the people. In this respect the Netherlands excelled England, for many thousands of cheap Bibles were printed, read and studied beyond the dykes and drives of Holland before even a printing-press for the making of Bibles was set up in England. One of the striking features in Dutch churches to this day is the great number of large-print Bibles lying within easy reach of the men on the ledges in front of the pews, and the abundance of copies of the Word in the hands of all the people.

The roots, then, beneath the trunk and flower are many and deep. So let us look at one only, probably the tap-root of all. Let us turn away from steam and wind-mills, from electric motors and iron-clad cannon and Schiedam schnapps, and look at the Dutchman on the Lord's day at worship. "God made the sea, we made the land," is one of his ancient proverbs, so let us see Mynheer and his vrouw at rest from labor on land and water.

At Goes (pronounced and meaning, and having on its coat of arms, a goose), a little city of Zeeland, and containing only 6,500 people, we spend our second Sunday in Holland. Small as it is, it has most, if not all, the good things of a great municipality. All facilities of travel by land and water, canal and railway, homes for orphans and aged people, corn exchange, market square, fine old town hall with valuable archives, medieval relics in the form of old walls, moats and castle. The gentleman's social club is called "Society Free from Things Unpleasant."

At 9:30 A.M. our Dutch friend, who speaks English and knows pretty much all about the history of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, calls at our hotel. We go together with the crowd, into the great church, which was finished and consecrated seventy years before Columbus made land-fall at Cat Island. What a mass of brick! What an area of glass! What vastness of nave and transept! What soaring of height! Why so immense an edifice, able to seat possibly ten thousand people? Wherefor this waste of the three dimensions? These questions we ask as we approach the mighty minster, and as we thread the stone floors, roughened by the sculptured heraldry and inscriptions. As we

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take our seat in one of the raised "banks" in the fraction of one-fourth of the edifice furnished with pews, we remember that medieval churches were built for the necessities of spectacular worship through processions and sensuous display. Our worship to-day must be through the powers of the soul; spiritual, not sensual; or, not at all. All now is bare of color. The columns and walls—once tinted and painted with pictures, and hung and decorated with embroidery, sculpture and symbols—are now whitewashed. Cold and empty of all that appeals to the senses, the glory of God and the communing soul of man must fill the house.

In throng the people, until possibly twelve hundred—to a Yankee parson used to counting his audience—have seated themselves. Here are scores of folks in the latest fashions of attire. Here also are probably two hundred in the local Zeeland costume of pretty lace caps, with gold ornaments of squares and balls projecting from the sides, bare arms, reddened by sunshine, and showing at the line of demarcation with the original white, how sensitive to light is the human skin. With exquisitely neat bodices, and cheeks as rosy as ripe apples, the Zeeland peasant girls come, as all the women and young folks come, with pocket or hand edition of Bible and psalms. For the men large octavo and folio Bibles lie on the board seat on the back of the pews, fronting each line of readers. The orphans, old ladies and old men from "the home," bronzed farmers, gentlemen in fine clothes, small boys—remarkably like some we wot of, in having occasional differences with the sexton—are all in their seats at 9:30. Then the door is not only shut, but locked. Formidable indeed is the key; a dreaded matter of detailed etiquette is departure from church during service.

On the dot, the fore-reader, who has a little desk fronting the pulpit, announces a psalm and reads it: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, oh God." The sentiment touches our heart, and lifts our soul at once in inspiration, though we cannot follow the dialect in which it is read. Then enters the dominie or minister, accompanied by the elders, the deacons being already in their places. The church officers all sit within the enclosed space especially reserved for them. Then follows the invocation.

Up to this moment, strange to say, a number of the men and boys, as well as the women, had their heads covered. It jarred upon our sense of reverence, caused dis-

gust, and tempted us to believe the Dutch were irreverent, when we first saw them with hats on at church. Were they Quakers or boors?

Neither. Nor were they irreverent. The refrigerator-like churches, unwarmed even in Winter—etiquette or gallantry allowing the women to toast their soles over foot stoves, but compelling the men to suffer icy feet and invite pneumonia—is the cause. Of necessity, the men, especially the elders, get into the habit of keeping on their hats. Nevertheless, at the first word of prayer, all male heads are uncovered. Two hours of service in Winter is a great trial to a thin-blooded man. In the more modern church more sensible ideas prevail, and heat is used.

Grandly the mighty organ leads off when the psalm for singing is announced. The Protestant Dutch have no choirs, no precentor, no hymns of secular origin, only psalm singing and organ. Yet, how grandly the people sing! How rich is the congregational praise, very slow in measure, but hearty and full of enjoyment. It is the people, not the quartette, who are praising God.

Then follows the prayer, all reverently bowing or standing. I like the Dutch dominie's prayer, so warm, fervent, so like what we associate with Jacob and the angel. We could not understand the sentences, but we are sure that heart led heart before God.

The sermon was from Acts 17:28, "For we are also his offspring." It began at 10 A.M. At 10:30 we thought it was over, for the preacher announced two verses of a psalm, and in a moment or two the words of music and song were grandly rolling. Then the deacons, in black suits and gloves, manipulated skilfully the fishing-poles and scoop-nets, and gathered up the silver and copper. Evidently the Gospel fishers of men had long ago caught many fish with coins in the mouth. I watched carefully the right arms and heads of the congregation. There were no bows, no polite refusals, or sublime ignoring of the receptacle of alms. Here was "liberal" Christianity of the right sort. For centuries, as all records, art, and superb institutions in stone and brick in every city in Holland show, the Dutch have well cared for their poor, their orphans and their aged. A beggar in Holland is almost a contradiction in terms. I thought of Amsterdam's one hundred charitable institutions supported wholly by voluntary contributions. Practical charity is one of the strong points in the Dutch character.

But, what does this mean? My Dutch friend, after dropping his coin, lays his purse out on the Bible-ledge before him. Why does he not put it in his pocket again?

And, behold, the preacher again resumes his discourse.

Ah, now we see, remembering also former reading. The sermon is in two sections, double-decked, like the old war-ship we visited lately.

The first part is, in technical language, the *exordium remotum*, or, in common talk, the explanation. The subsequent procedure is the application.

Ah! but the collection is also double-jointed. The first offering was for the poor. The second is for the church. Again, while the sermon proceeds—the dominie being in no way discomfited, nor the people—the fishing-poles, twelve feet long, reach the uttermost occupant of the longest pew. Soon the heavy weight at the distant end of the pole taxes the wrist strength of the deacon. Then, too, when the tribute of the church-officers who sit under the pulpit—my heart yearns with pity in sympathy with their craned necks—much skill is required to avoid hitting pulpit or preacher with the long poles. Meanwhile, the small boys and the sexton have infelicitous disagreements which afford a fine field for the study of facial variations. Except the cushioned chairs for the ladies, the seats for men and boys are of hard wood, with perpendicular backs, and the service nearly two hundred minutes long.

These are the shadows of fancy. We frankly avow them. They were but for a moment. What impressed us was the earnestness of faith, solidity and fruitfulness in practical works, tenacity to conviction, in our Dutch brethren. We met many others during our month's stay—the three varieties in the Reformed Church, the Established, the Christian Reformed (their organization dating from about 1845), and the Doleerende or Complainants; The Free Evangelical or Congregational, and the Lutheran. We heard "Moody and Sankey's" tunes played on American organs and grandly and heartily sung in homes on Sunday evenings. On the title-page of the Dutch version we read, "42d edition." While there is much that may be criticised, not a little unbelief, indifference, and even aggressive infidelity, in Holland, the heart of the people is sound, and the secret of their quiet strength now, as in the past, is their faith in God. No one can understand or appreciate the Dutchman or his country, or his history, who forgets or ignores his

religion. When one, too, remembers the long roll of Holland's one hundred thousand martyrs for faith and home-land, he can forgive what may seem the hardness of the Dutchman's creed and the baldness of his church service. We must know their religion, founded on the Bible, in order to understand the men who tamed the ocean, humbled Spain and turned a sandy morass into a flower-garden.

### PILGRIMAGE TO THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS.

BY REV. DR. W. A. P. MARTIN, PRESIDENT OF THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE, PEKING, CHINA.

From *The Independent* (Udenom.), New York, July 23, 1891.

THE dust of the great sage reposes near the place of his birth, at Chiufu, in the Province of Shantung. For twenty-three centuries official offerings have been made to his bones; and emperors, princes and scholars have repaired to his sepulchre to do him homage. Yet Chiufu is not to China what Mecca is to the Mohammedan world—not that Confucius is less esteemed than the founder of Islam, but because the pilgrimage to his tomb is not enjoined as a religious duty.

Ten days would have sufficed to carry me to the sacred spot; but as I desired first to visit an ancient colony of Jews in the central Province of Honan, I spent four weeks wandering through the heart of China before arriving there, and forty-six before reaching Shanghai.

On the 2d of February, 1896, I set out from Peking on what was then a route unfrequented by Europeans; and so few are the changes that have taken place in the interior of that most conservative of empires that my narrative, which is now for the first time given to the public, is as true to the life as if its date were of yesterday. No new canal has been excavated and no railway constructed in that region.

Kaifungfu, the abode of the Jewish colony, and one of the ancient capitals, lies 500 miles to the southwest of Peking. I engaged a cart, drawn by two mules, to carry me to that point in fifteen days.

Bestowing in it my baggage and a servant, I accompanied the vehicle on horse-back, taking pains to keep in sight. As these carts have no springs, this mode of traveling by cart (*i.e.*, to keep on the outside) is to be commended, on the score of comfort, the chief drawback being exposure

to wind, dust and cold. My driver being liable to a fine for loss of time, made it a point to rouse me from my bed before daylight and to continue on the road far into the night, sometimes covering a distance of forty-five or fifty miles. In the morning the cold was intense, and as I trotted along the icicles formed on my beard tinkled like a chime of bells. My servant, Yungan, "Everlasting Peace," who was snoring in the cart, had a better time; and this is so well understood by the Chinese that the master always takes the cart and puts his attendant on horseback.

In less than a week, my horse becoming lame, I sold him for a song and soon became reconciled to the snug birth of Yungan: taking long walks to stretch my stiffened limbs.

After a full month of this luxurious mode of motion, I had to descend to a humbler vehicle, because the road became so narrow that it would accommodate only one wheel. My wheelbarrow, the common conveyance in that region, was pushed by one man and drawn by another, the passengers balancing each other by sitting on opposite sides when they did not chose to walk.

Some of these barrows were fitted with mast and sail, so that when the wind was fair, the driver had nothing to do but hold the helm and "keep her steady."

Coming to a spur of the mountains, our ship of the plains had to be abandoned. I might have continued my journey on foot, as I had become accustomed to walking; but for the sake of expedition, I hired post horses and soon found myself at the banks of the grand canal. For comfort, commend me to a Chinese canal-boat. With no passengers and no noise, if you are not pressed for time, you have no occasion to wish for a smoky steamer or a rattling railway.

Except in the capital of Honan, I failed to find on this long journey anything that could be called a decent lodging place. The larger inns were caravanseries, like those of Western Asia, for the entertainment of camels; the smaller offering accommodations for foot passengers only. Not one of them is more than one story in height; and all have floors of earth with a divan of brick or wood which serves for bed at night and sofa by day. The guest provides his own bedding, and his food too, if he is nice on that point.

Many of them are kept by Mohammedans, as I learned, to my cost. One day, when my servant had set the table, and I was about to begin my breakfast with a

slice of ham, the innkeeper appeared and implored me by all that was sacred to abstain from pork, for his sake, if not for my own. Sending it away, I addressed myself to a piece of corned beef. To this the host also objected, saying that the cow was a sacred beast; and it is so in Southern China. To spare his feelings, I said I would break my fast on bread and butter. "Not on butter, I beseech you," he exclaimed; "butter, too, is forbidden. My dishes have not been greased with it for five years." Swallowing my dry morsel with a cup of tea, I left the place, resolving the next time to ascertain the religious faith of my innkeeper before unpacking my cart.

In places the country had been swept by hordes of rebels, and it was scarcely possible to obtain for any price a chicken or an egg, while rice was out of the question, and coarse millet the only available food. In one place the inn was too poor to afford a candlestick; but by way of substitute the innkeeper showed me a trick which would have delighted the economical Diogenes. Cutting a turnip in half, he turned the flat side down, and thrusting into it a bamboo chopstick—"There's your candestick," he said, in a tone of triumph. My candle supported on that sharp stick gave as good a light as if it had rested on silver.

In most of these inns the whitened walls serve the double purpose of ledger and visitors' book. The names of lodgers being scrawled there along with various effusions in prose or verse. In one was a pasquinade on "Lady Shen," the wife of the Prefect, who must have been a remarkable woman to exercise a "reign of terror over her husband, and through him, over the whole district." In another, I read in verse this sad confession of an opium smoker: "For a time I dallied with the lamp and pipe. Pleasure became disease and I sought in vain for antidotes. Now in poverty and pain I am glad to consume the ashes from another's pipe." The experience of the writer may be taken as that of a large class. At a third, I read a satire on a noted general, who had been beaten by the English, ending with the query,

"When he fights and runs away,  
Is it fight, or is it play?"

To these rude verses add rude pictures, not always decent, and you have an idea of the embellishment of our wayside hotel.

Away from great cities the people always exhibited a friendly and unsuspecting disposition. "He speaks our language," they said; "if his whiskers were shaven off he

would be as good-looking as we are." They asked me not from what country, but "from what Province" I came; and occasionally inquired whether I was Tartar or Chinese. In one case, the most learned man in a village, after talking with me in the evening, came back in the morning to say that he had not been able to find the name of my country in his Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. I inquired the date of the work, and found it was two hundred years old.

Arriving late and starting early, I usually escaped annoyance at the hands of the curious; but where I stopped for Sunday their curiosity knew no bounds. Gathering in immense throngs, they would force themselves into my inn, breaking down doors and windows, and were only appeased when I came out and placed myself on view. When I spoke to them on the truths of religion they listened respectfully; and they were always glad to get a few tracts, though but few were able to read them. One man said he had received a Bible from a foreigner, but remembered only one word of its contents; that, he said, was the name "Jehovah." That name, I told him, was the subject of the whole book; and it served me for an excellent text.

Except in the districts affected by rebellion the people appeared well fed and well dressed; and the absence of beggars testified to the comfort of their social condition. In one village every man wore two hats, one superposed upon the other. Before noting it down as a custom of the country I learned on inquiry that those people were coming home from a fair, where each had provided himself with a new hat for the New Year, to begin the next day.

The next day, they wore only the new one. The shops and gateways were adorned with new inscriptions on fresh red paper; everybody appeared in bright apparel, and the streets were thronged with people paying visits of ceremony. My innkeeper threw himself at my feet and wished me a happy new year, expecting and receiving the usual *cumshaw*. My servant performed the same ceremony, and then asked my permission to offer the prescribed token of respect to his mother. She was far away, but, turning his face toward Peking, he bowed his head to the earth nine times and wished her long life—a beautiful expression of that filial feeling which has created the worship of ancestors and made it a living force among the Chinese people.

In China a city always has a wall, and it is sometimes called a large city when it has

very few inhabitants. After leaving Peking, I passed through more than twenty cities of four grades in political importance, Paoting and Kaifung, with a population of one and two hundred thousand respectively, being the largest. Isolated farmhouses were nowhere to be seen, the people all congregating in villages for convenience and mutual protection. The country is thus deprived of its beauty; and what Akenside calls "The mild dignity of private life," is practically unknown. Through the greater part of the region that came under my view, the population was sparse compared with that of the sea-coast, though soil is extremely fertile.

The cities were, in most cases, empty fortresses—their streets here and there spanned with honorary portals or *paifows*. One was inscribed to a father and son, who had both risen to the rank of Cabinet Minister; another recorded the fact that one family had for four generations given a viceroy to some Province of the Empire; a third was in honor of a widow, and bore the legend:

"Her virtue was as pure, and her heart as cold, as ice."

This does not imply that chastity, "pure as the icicle that hangs on Dian's temple," is at all rare; it only means that Lady Ping, being left a widow at an early age, had resisted all temptations to marry again. Such portals are erected at private expense, but not without a license from the Emperor, which it costs something to obtain.

A similar portal spanning the roadway near a humble hamlet informs the passengers that "here were born six or seven famous kings of the Dynasty of Shang,"—i.e., between three and four thousand years ago. It was amusing to note that the names of these kings were not given, but that of the public-spirited donor was duly recorded.

This reference to antiquity reminds me that I passed through a deserted city whose walls of baked clay were in good condition, though their facing of brick had been removed. It had been the capital of Chao, a small but warlike state in the feudal period, when Babylon was in her glory. Fancy could conjure up the armies that had issued from those silent gates; and the Chinese, who have a dread of ghosts, though they pass through it in daytime, always give it a wide berth at night.

Another spot of antiquarian interest was the town of Yangku, which is supposed to have been the site of an astronomical observatory in the reign of Yao, B.C. 2300.

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At present it contains nothing suggestive of science.

Situated in the fertile plain, with a range of hills in shape like the arc of an ellipse to bring the *bungshui* influence to a focus, Chiufu, the goal of my travels, is deemed equally favorable for the birth or the burial of great men. Trade, it has none—living on the emoluments which a grateful nation has thought fit to confer on the greatest of its benefactors. A lineal descendant of the Sage has here his palace, with the title of duke and ample domains. Twelve of the nearer branches of the family, and sixty of the more remote, have likewise been provided for by imperial bounty.

The city is in the form of a rectangle, a mile in length by half a mile in breadth. One end of the inclosure is occupied by the Temple of Confucius, and the tomb, which is outside of the city, is connected with it by an avenue of stately cedars. This avenue bears the name of *Shentuo*, the "spirit road," meaning that the spirit of the holy man, when invoked with proper rites, passes through these trees, back and forth, between tomb and temple. He has a temple in every city of the Empire, and his effigy is adored in every schoolroom in the land. His worship is accordingly not localized, and hence, but little zeal is shown to make the pilgrimage to this holy city. Yet the tomb and temple are both on such a scale of magnificence as to be worthy of an empire whose most sacred traditions are here embodied.

The temple is a vestibule to the tomb; and we shall visit that first.

On the last day of February, just as the sun was rising, I presented myself at the great gate; but as the porters saw me approaching they closed it in my face. That meant nothing more than a demand to be paid for opening it. A red card thrust through a crevice and a promise of *cumshaw* proved to be an "open sesame," and the great shrine stood full before me. The moon being at the full, a company of young men in rich attire were paying their devotions to the spirit of their illustrious ancestor. I was politely requested to amuse myself in some of the adjoining courts until the service should be completed. It was not long—chiefly consisting of the *kotow*, or nine prostrations, accompanied by a repetition of the titles of the Sage, in form, something like a hymn of praise.

In the meantime I entered a spacious court, paved with stone and studded with sculptured *pailous*, or honorary gateways that lead nowhere. From this, I passed into another of equal extent which had a

little canal meandering through it, excavated for the sole purpose of giving occasion for a dozen or more beautiful bridges of shining marble. A third court contained a solemn grove of funereal cypress, some of the trees being of enormous size, and their deep shade being profoundly impressive. One of them, it is alleged, was planted by the Sage himself.

Beyond these, in another court, stood a forest of granite columns, range on range, each covered with laudatory inscriptions, and sheltered by a pretty pavilion. Each column had been erected by a sovereign of the Empire; and some of them, dating as far back as the dynasties of Han, Tsin and Wei (from fifteen to twenty centuries), were so defaced by time as to be illegible. The habit of taking printed copies from the stone had helped to obliterate the inscriptions. Some of later dynasties were more distinct. One by Chenghua (A.D. 1465) particularly attracted my attention. It styled Confucius the "Heart of Heaven," "without whom we should have been wrapped in one unbroken night." Expatiating on his virtues, it concludes with a hymn of praise.

The library was a wooden tower, four or five stories in height, in the finest style of Chinese architecture. Instead, however, of being filled with books, it is tenanted with innumerable pigeons, and if it ever contained books there is now no trace of them.

The central shrine, where I had seen the descendants of the Sage at their devotions, resembles the Confucian temple at Peking, but is vaster in its proportions. Like all of its kind, it consists of a long hall, rising in one story to a great height. In this, however, the front pillars are of stone instead of wood; and a more important difference is the fact that here the Sage and his principal disciples are represented by statues of stone, while elsewhere they have only tablets inscribed with their names. The statues are not the work of a Phidias; and the simple tablets, which even here are the chief objects of adoration, are far more impressive.

The tablet of Confucius bears on it the inscription: "The seat of the spirit of the most holy ancient Sage, Confucius."

Numerous inscriptions on gilded tablets, some fixed in the vaulted roof, others pendant from the ceiling, set forth the Sage's virtues in phrases like the following:

- "The model teacher of all ages."
- "With Heaven and Earth he forms a trinity."
- "His virtue is equal to that of Heaven and Earth."
- "The force of Nature could no farther go."

"Of all the sages he was the grand consummation."  
 "His holy soul was sent down from Heaven."

The tablets of seventy-two, out of his three thousand disciples, who became conspicuous for wisdom and virtue are ranged on either hand, each in a separate shrine, while in niches, around the walls, are to be seen the tablets of some of his eminent followers of later times, all participating in the cloud of incense offered to the great Master.

Attached to this building, are several others less conspicuous, one of which is devoted to the memory of the father of Confucius, of whom nothing is known except that he died too early to influence the character of his famous son. A shrine to the "Holy Mother" pays deserved honor to the woman who trained and taught China's teacher. His ancestors for five generations all have places of honor, and wear the posthumous title of prince, though in life they were poor and unknown.

The most curious of these collateral shrines is one of the "Holy Lady, the wife of the Sage." As she was divorced, it suggests the dilemma that if put away for cause, she does not deserve a shrine; if without cause, the Sage was not so perfect as the world supposes.

A well, where the Sage is said to have drawn water, and a hall filled with portraits on stone of himself and his disciples, were the last objects of interest that I had time to inspect.

On my way to the city gate I noticed a gilded inscription on a marble arch at the entrance of a street, informing the passer-by that "This is Poverty Lane, where Yen-hui, the favorite disciple, formerly dwelt." He died young, but left behind him the invaluable example of love of study and contempt for luxury.

Beyond the gate, pursuing for half a mile the graceful curves of the "Spirit Road," I came to a column marking a limit where riders are required to dismount and proceed on foot to the entrance of the *campo santo*. The wall of the holy ground incloses a space of about ten acres, shaded by great trees and filled with tombs of the Sage's descendants, excepting an area of two or three acres on the side facing the city, which is occupied by a mound so large that it might be described as a hill. This is the Sage's tomb. The earth of which it is formed is a more enduring monument than brick or stone, and a few spadefuls are added every year, so that with the flight of time the hillock may yet become a mountain. A paved court and a granite column comprise all that art has done in the way of embellishment. On one

side an old tree leaning on crutches informs you that it was planted by the hand of Teze Kung, one of the Sage's personal followers; and near it a tablet marks the site of lodge in which this devoted disciple passed six years, watching by the grave of his master. The very grass that grows within this inclosure is sacred, and supposed to be endowed with powers of divination much beyond that which we attribute to witch hazel. It gives rise to a brisk trade which I encouraged by buying a bundle of stalks (forty-nine in number— $7 \times 7$ ), not that I cared to learn from them the secrets of futurity, but to prove that I had won the honors of a *hadji*.

Though he has a temple in every city, Confucius is not deified. The honors paid to him are purely commemorative, and he is never invoked in the character of a tutelar divinity. The homage rendered to him is not, therefore, a direct obstacle to the acceptance of the Christian Faith.

#### THEOLOGY OF PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S "GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD."

(A paper read to the Presbyterian Ministerial Association of New York.)

BY REV. W. T. SABINE, D.D.

From *The Episcopal Recorder* (Ref. Epis.), Philadelphia, July 30, 1891.

STANDARDS of doctrine, systems of religious truth have been much ignored, and made light of in our time. Catechetical training has largely fallen in desuetude in the last five decades.

This being so, it may be questioned whether believers are as well armed as at some other periods to detect and resist the wiles of the enemies of truth.

A book of half truths, distorted views of the Gospel, insidious doctrinal errors, put upon the New England market to-day, would find proportionately much readier acceptance and wider influence, than it could possibly have done fifty, much more one hundred years ago. And what is true of New England in this respect, is measurably true of the rest of the country.

If this be so, the mere saying of it is a call to all who love God's Word in its integrity to be on the alert, to have an eye open upon what assume to be religious issues of the press, to detect and expose such of its teachings as may be defective, erroneous and dangerous to the spiritual life, and to put

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Christian people generally upon their guard against them, even at risk of being charged with "*heresy-hunting*." To this they will be prompted the more earnestly, the graver the error and the greater the peril, and extent of its probable influence.

True, the publication at the head of this article is not a theological treatise, and yet it has a theology, a statement which might be made of hosts of books, whose writers count themselves quite free from any theological bias, and who, perhaps, are so thought by their readers.

All men, however, have their beliefs, even those who pride themselves on being creedless, and who would be shocked to be told that after all, and in spite of themselves, they have a creed; and these beliefs color thought and action everywhere; speak out in their writings, no less than their deeds.

This must be doubly true of books whose purpose is religious, and which run out along religious lines.

Wide attention has been called to the brochure in question, and it has gained an immense circulation. Written in a clear and fascinating style, for its author is a master in English, gotten up in the newest, most dainty and attractive dress, good type and pretty bindings, vigorously pushed upon the market at all points by publication houses, bookstores, news stands, hotel and railroad salesmen, far and wide; commending itself largely in the treatment of a very noble theme to the religion of the natural heart; it has found hosts on hosts of readers, and won its way to wide popularity and influence.

Many Christians avowedly evangelical have put this tractate, with warm commendations of it as a most remarkable and valuable presentation of truth, into the hands of fellow-believers. Others of keener spiritual insight have been alarmed by its rapid diffusion and extended acceptance.

An eminent teacher in the American pulpit has so far appreciated and recognized the justice of this concern, as to issue what clearly appears, without indeed at all assuming to be so, a reply to its position.

We certainly cannot afford to be uncognizant of, or indifferent to a treatise thus heralded, and likely to be influential for good or evil upon the beliefs of so many hearts and lives.

The theology of "THE GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD," is objectionable rather for what it lacks, than for that which it contains. Its sins are largely sins of omission. It says many excellent things, and says them admirably well, but what it forgets or

neglects to say (and which it is essential should be said in such connections, as being vital and fundamental to all true spiritual living), makes it dangerously misleading to those who are uninstructed, or but half instructed in the things of God.

For one thing, this very popular little treatise nowhere makes statement of, or even seems to assume the guilt, condemnation and helplessness of human nature in its fallen state. There may be here and there a sentence, which faintly appears to point in this direction, but the author certainly nowhere explicitly avows belief in it. And after perusing these pages, we might be tempted even to doubt his recognition of this fundamental truth.

He indeed says, pp. 35-36: "Hence it is not enough to deal with the Temper. We must go to the source and change the inmost nature, and the angry humors will die away of themselves. Christ, the Spirit of Christ, interpenetrating ours, sweetens, purifies, transforms all. This only can eradicate what is wrong, work a chemical change, renovate and regenerate, and rehabilitate the inner man. Will-power does not change men. Time does not change men. Christ does. Therefore, 'Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.'"

These terms assume, as indeed the whole treatise does, the imperfection of human nature. We are not what we might be, and may become, by Christ's infusion into the inmost nature of His Spirit; but it is loose language at the best, and by no means a clear and effective statement of the truth which underlies the biblical theology, that man is very far gone from original righteousness, and helpless for recovery.

We conceive that Unitarians of the school of Channing and Peabody, and others of much looser views, would assent to every word of this quoted statement. Indeed, multitudes of men who quite scout what hitherto has passed for orthodox theology, might accept, with slight alteration, the book as a whole.

The failure to assert, or even clearly to imply this vital and fundamental doctrine, is a very serious and perilous defect in a treatise like this, put forth in times like these.

These pages seem to teach, that the way in which men may become what they ought to be (we understand the author to be writing not to believers alone, but to men in general) is by the cultivation of love, love to their Maker, love to their fellows.

"The supreme work," says Mr. Drum-

mond, "to which we need to address ourselves in this world, is to learn love. Is life not full of opportunities for learning love? Every man and woman every day has a thousand of them. The world is not a play-ground; it is a school-room. Life is not a holiday, but an education. And the one eternal lesson for us all is how better we can love. What makes a man a good cricketer? Practice. What makes a man a good artist, a good sculptor, a good musician? Practice. What makes a man a good linguist, a good stenographer? Practice. What makes a man a good man? Practice. Nothing else. And the constituents of this great character are only to be built up by ceaseless practice."

Now if the guilt and depravity of human nature had been set forth, if the necessity of conviction of sin, of pardon, of reconciliation with a justly offended God had been emphasized, or in any way distinctly implied in these pages, all this might have passed without stricture, but since they are not so stated, nor do they appear to be even so assumed, what is all this but the teaching of a mere morality. Where is the Gospel in it? the Gospel that man needs, the Gospel which offers renewal of his nature, transformation of his will, divine empowering of him to do that which (when he truly comes to know himself) he knows he never can do by himself? It sounds like mockery, a bidding of him to do the impossible!

Cognate to this, indeed implied in, and necessarily going along with it, is the omission in these pages, of any recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life to the soul.

Mr. Drummond is writing of love, exalting, glorifying love, insisting with much earnestness and eloquence that men shall prize love as "the greatest thing in the world," acquire, cherish and exercise the power of loving.

Paul wrote to the Galatians v. 22, "The fruit of the *Spirit* is love." It would seem almost impossible that in treating such a theme, mention of this should be omitted, yet never a word upon these pages to indicate that love is to be had only as a result of the Divine operation of the Spirit on the soul.

Mr. Drummond emphasizes the point that it is the contemplation of Divine love which is to foster human love. "Because He loved us, we love, we love everybody. Our heart is slowly changed. Contemplate the love of Christ, and you will love."

But Paul says, Romans v. 5, The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the

Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. Yet so completely is the relation of the Spirit ignored, we might read this treatise which so magnifies and glorifies love from end to end, and if we had never learned it from some other source, rise from its perusal to say with certain disciples of Ephesus, "we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost!" And this is again a very radical and decided defect.

As for the Doctrine of Atonement, the expiation of sin by the dying of the Lord Jesus, that great central truth which lies at Christianity's heart, and with which chapter after chapter of the New Testament is blood red, there is neither word nor implication of it here.

The men who stigmatize the truth on this great subject as "the butcher theory," and deplore "the religion of the shambles," may read these pages without shiver or qualm. They will find nothing to disturb, nothing to offend them.

It will be said, perhaps, in reply to these strictures, that no one book, certainly no brief treatise like this, can be expected to enter upon a discussion of these profound and serious tenets of Christian faith, and that it is unreasonable to blame it for its failure to allude to them.

Our answer is an illustration. If we were writing to England to urge the cultivation of some fruit indigenous to our American soil, and having descanted at length upon its taste and nutritiousness, its beauty of form and color, and economic value, should say scarce a word of the place where it is obtained, of the proper method of its culture, of the soil and the climate, and the sort of attention essential to its thrifty growth, our effort would be radically defective, and practically useless—almost absurd.

The case is in point. When Professor Drummond eulogizes Christian love, and calls us to its cultivation, his exhortations are worthless if he tells us nothing of its origination and the conditions indispensable to its production, life and development.

The defects of this treatise, as so far considered, have been negative. We have dealt with its omissions. But a positive charge must be brought against it, namely, its iterated and reiterated depreciation of the root grace, the mother grace, the grace of all graces—Christian faith.

Mr. Drummond opens his book with a slur upon faith. "We have been accustomed to be told that the greatest thing in the religious world is faith. That great word has been the key-note for centuries of the popular religion; and we have easily

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learned to look upon it as the greatest thing in the world. Well, we are wrong. If we have been told that, we may miss the mark."

"Yet we have certainly been told," says Dr. James H. Brookes, "by the Holy Ghost, that by faith we are saved, by faith we stand, by faith we walk, by faith we overcome the world, by faith the heart is purified, that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, and that without faith it is impossible to please God."

The apostle John appears to differ in this from Professor Drummond. Closing the last Gospel, he declares, "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." The production and nurture of faith in Jesus was the first, the permanent object of the Gospel, this inspired author affirms.

It was written, not that ye might be amiable, generous, helpful, self-sacrificing, loving—these indeed by and by, and farther on—but first and foremost, that ye might believe, accept, rest upon Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.

The philosopher and the humanitarian tell us that "love is the greatest thing in the world." The Gospel of the infallible God declares, "These things are written that ye might believe."

"This word believe," says Dr. Brookes, "at which the Professor almost sneers, occurs one hundred times in the Gospel of John alone, and salvation is never represented as obtained by *loving*, which is impossible to the unregenerate soul, but by believing."

Love! oh yes. Rejoicing! oh yes. Amiability! devotion! self-sacrifice! oh yes! All these as the fruits, but not as the roots, for the fruit can never be the root. Nay, nor be before or without the root.

Faith is primary, initial, underlying mental condition, as Dr. Gordon, of Boston, has so beautifully shown by a scriptural analysis in his admirable little pamphlet, "The Primacy of Faith."

Faith in Jesus is the first, the eldest born of all the graces. More than that, it is the mother grace, of which all others are begotten in the soul, and without which none of them could be.

One may more admire the daughters, think love and hope and joy and unselfish devotion to the good of others, fairer, sweeter, more beautiful than their mother, faith; but after all the mother is the mother, and must be accorded her own primacy, her queenly and right royal precedence as the first, the indispensable, the begetting, the necessarily conditional grace, and faith,

not hope, joy, sacrifice, love, but the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, the very key-note of the New Testament, is in reality the greatest thing in the world.

To all this, reply will be made in Paul's words, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, "Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity," and we shall be asked if this is not the conclusive settlement of the matter.

We answer, undoubtedly, on the principle enunciated, 2 Cor. iii. 11, "For if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious." Love is the greatest, the surviving, the immortal grace. Faith yields to sight and is not. Hope disappears in fruition and is not. Love lives on forever, being in this sense certainly the pre-eminent grace.

In the matter of Christian attainment, also, it is the crowning, the surpassing grace, the top and jewel of them all.

But observe. This is no promiscuous saying flung out for all the world.

Paul is writing to believers. He expressly addresses "the Church of God, which is at Corinth, them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all others that call upon the name of Jesus Christ."

To these, and none others, he here speaks.

Paul did not say this on Mars Hill and to Athenian philosophers.

This was not the truth needed on Mars Hill, and it would not have been wise or safe to say it there. So neither, and for the same reason, did Paul say it to heathen sailors on the decks of the Alexandrian corn ships. It might have misled these men to their spiritual ruin.

He wrote it alone to those who could understand and appreciate it, who already had faith, and knew somewhat of its essentially fundamental relation as antecedent to and conditional for Christian love.

Truth has its applications and occasions. There are necessary and important physical truths which we carefully keep from our children till they have reached the age of discretion.

So there are spiritual truths, which are as meat to milk, and are only to be pressed upon those who have got through the stage of spiritual infancy, and come at least to know that faith is first of all and root of all.

Said a venerable clergyman not long since: "I know of a man, wealthy, moral, influential, but a despiser of the Gospel of Christ, of God's day and Word, who, on hearing the title of this book, at once said

in effect, 'That's the religion for me! Love is everything—to love our neighbors as ourselves is all!'

It is easy to see how men thus minded will wrest to their own destruction this glorious truth, if it be flung broadcast, without qualification, limitation, explanation, on the world. They will surely find it another gospel than that of Paul—of Christ.

### THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

BY REV. S. F. HOTCHKIN.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Udenom.), Philadelphia, August 1, 1891.

THERE is a majestic silence in Holy Scripture. A miracle, which in a worldly narrative would be introduced with much preparation, and dismissed with pages of comment, stands alone in its grandeur in the Gospels. The quiet working of God is like that of his servant the sun, or the noiseless process of vegetation.

After our blessed Lord left this earth, his words seemed still to echo in the East, and the footsteps of his apostles resounded. That mystic land knew a devout life to which the busy toiling West is too often a stranger. The American thinks that common sense and logic must guide his way; the Easterner, in his warm climate and leisure, was given to meditation.

A sanctified imagination is, however, supplied in Holy Scripture with much food. The vineyard of Isaiah, and the spiritual flowers and banquet of Solomon's Song, and the "new heaven" and "new earth," with its gold and pearls, in the Revelation of St. John, are but a part of this kind of teaching. The miracle-play and oratorio, and much religious poetry, and many hymns, fall under the same category.

The idea of the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels was to fill up the gaps in the divine narrative, and they took apostolic names, according to the fashion of their age, to give credit to their spiritual romances. The object of this paper is simply to indicate some beauties and defects in these writings, without entering on the question of their orthodoxy. In the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, dragons are represented adoring the infant Saviour, while lions and panthers worship him as he goes to Egypt. These beasts guide Joseph and Mary, bowing their heads, and showing submission by wagging their tails. Jesus encourages his mother in her first fear of the beasts. Lions walk with oxen and asses, and are tame among

sheep and rams, according to Isaiah's prophecy. The lions direct the path of the oxen drawing the provision wagon. A palm-tree bends at Christ's command to give Mary fruit; and opening a vein of water at its root, a spring of clear and sparkling water flows for the company and cattle, at another command of Jesus. Jesus gives the palm the privilege of having one of its branches carried to the Paradise of God, and there planted, that those who conquer may have the palm of victory. An angel of the Lord takes a branch, and flies heavenward with it.

Jesus is represented as miraculously shortening the way to Egypt; so that when Joseph complains of the boiling heat, and wishes to rest in some seashore city, one day does the work of thirty, and the mountains and cities of Egypt are soon seen. These attempts to paint animate and inanimate nature as obedient to Christ are above the mythological dreams, or the legends of *Gesta Romanorum*, and evince a desire in their solemn style to glorify God. The Egyptian idols fall before the infant Jesus, and are broken, and lie on their shattered faces, as Isaiah had prophesied the moving of the idols of Egypt. The governor of a city containing an idol temple adores Jesus, and bids his army do likewise. The story of the boy Jesus making sparrows of clay, and causing them to fly, is another effort to show his power over the world of his own creation. The wonderful reticence of the true Gospels, in condensing the life of Christ for a third of a century into a few pages, contrasts strongly with the poor taste and incongruity of the Apocryphal Gospels, though there are brilliant exceptions. The Apocryphal Gospels, it has been said, display what kind of a gospel uninspired man would indite.

The precocity of Jesus leads him to instruct his teacher Levi about the meaning of the Hebrew alphabet. Longfellow has beautifully drawn out these stories in his "Golden Legend," making Christ say,

"What Aleph means I fain would know,  
Before I any farther go!"

The child Jesus is represented as healing the sick and raising the dead. He sows wheat, which multiplies exceedingly, and he gives it to the poor. The Jordan divides for his passage.

The account of the carpenter Joseph making ox-yokes of wood, "and plows, and implements of husbandry, and wooden beds," may have come down by tradition. A piece of wood cut too short is lengthened by Jesus. At school the Divine Child reads

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not from the book, but speaks by the Spirit of the living God as from a full fountain, and people and teacher adore him. When the boy slept, by day or night, "the brightness of God shone upon him." In the cradle he says to Mary that he is "Jesus the Son of God, the Logos," and that his Father had sent him "for the salvation of the world," according to the Arabic Gospel of the Saviour's infancy. The simple story of the flight into Egypt becomes a showy narrative, when the water which washes the boy Jesus heals a girl who has the leprosy, and cures the son of a princess, who shows gifts on the Virgin Mary. A story of enchantment adorns the questionable narrative. The robbers who are to die on the cross with Christ are met by the Holy Family, and the good one pays the evil one to allow the company to pass unspoiled. Judas Iscariot appears as a demoniac boy, and attacks Jesus; but Jesus weeps, and Satan flees from Judas.

While silly stories occur in these writings, there is one beautiful scene where the boy Jesus is a king, and the other boys spread their clothes on the ground, and he seats himself on them, while they place a crown of flowers on his head, and stand as servants around him. Those passing by were dragged by the boys to adore him. The sacred Boy heals the bites of serpents, and teaches astronomy to an astronomer, and describes the relation of soul and body to a philosopher, who adores him.

The age of persecution was the era of these writings, and we see in the story of Joseph's imprisonment and release by Christ what was naturally in the mind of the early Christian. The cooling water, and "smell of perfumes," and kiss of Christ, are refreshments to a sufferer. The story is in the "Gospel of Nicodemus."

In the "Acts of Pilate," the runner sent by Pilate to bring Jesus adores Christ, and spreads his cloak on the ground for him to walk upon, declaring that he had seen his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The standards in the hands of Gentiles bow of themselves, adoring Jesus, and strong men cannot control them. Compare the banner which is said to have shown the cross of Christ in the heaven of Constantine. Many Jews are weeping before Pilate before the fearful sentence against Christ is given. The man who was infirm thirty-eight years, and the blind man who heard Jesus passing, are introduced as witnesses for Christ.

In the dialogue between Satan and Hades, Satan is depicted as sharpening a lance to pierce Christ, and tempting him, and rous-

ing the Jews against him, and preparing wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him. This direct manner of speaking of the acts of Satan is in the mode of Holy Scripture. Tartarus fears the coming of Christ, and orders "the cruel gates of brass" to be shut, and "the bars of iron" to be put up, that the entrance of Christ might be bravely resisted. David and Isaiah speak of their prophecies, and of the coming glory and deliverance when "the sting of death" and victory of Hades shall be destroyed. Christ's coming lightens darkness and bursts chains. Hades and Death ask Christ who he is, so lowly, and yet so exalted; a soldier and a commander; a wonderful warrior, but in a slave's form; the King of Glory, dead, but alive, though slain on the cross. The sympathy of the ancients for Adam as their common ancestor is touching. The Lord is here represented as holding him by the right hand, and speaking peace to him and his children, while Adam kneels before him. The Lord delivers Adam to Michael the archangel, and the saints follow Michael "into the glorious grace of Paradise."

Certain rabbis are depicted as kissing Karinus and Leucius when they rose from the dead. With what transports should we greet our friends, if God were thus to restore them; but we must wait for that coming day when all shall arise. On Mount Amalech thousands of those who had risen with the Lord suddenly appear singing praises, and speaking of Christ's resurrection, while the beholders fall to the ground in fear. Adam wonders at the vast number of his posterity, and Isaiah cries to "Father Adam" and those standing around, that his prophecy concerning light to the people sitting in darkness has been fulfilled by the appearance of Christ in Hades. John the Baptist is seen as a hermit, and David as if imperial. Patriarchs and prophets recognize each other, and quote their prophecies. Jeremiah speaks of his prophecy that the Son of God would be seen on earth and dwell among men. The exultant saints cry out, and Satan trembles and vainly seeks to escape; but Hades and his satellites keep him bound and guarded. Christ binds Satan, and commits him to everlasting flames for his unrelenting wickedness. Adam kisses the hands of Christ, weeping, and saying, "Behold the hands which fashioned me." Eve also says, "Behold the hands which made me." The saints ask Christ to leave the sign of his cross in Hades as a token of victory for eternity, that those absorbed by his blood might not be held there,

and he complied. This is in accord with a striking expression in these writings concerning God, which styles him "pitier affectionate and most high." So love and majesty blend together.

Pilate's report represents men in glorious robes appearing suddenly, as winter lightning, a countless multitude with thundering voice crying out that the crucified Jesus was risen. The full moon hides her face with a blood-like covering, by reason of Jewish cruelty in slaying Christ; but, at the resurrection, the sun shone with a glory never known before, and all the heaven was bright. The angels' song of "Glory to God in the highest" was followed by the call of angels to those in Hades to come up; and mountains and hills shake at this voice, and rocks burst, and chasms appear. Then the patriarchs are raised from the dead.

In the "Giving up of Pilate," Caesar is introduced as rebuking Pilate, and saying that Christ was manifestly the King of the Jews. Pilate confesses ignorance in crucifying Christ, and his repentance is accepted; and, when a prefect beheads him, an angel of the Lord receives his head, and his wife Procla immediately dies joyfully, and is buried with her husband.

In the "Death of Pilate," Veronica is carrying a canvas to a painter, that she might have a picture of our Lord painted on it, that, when he departed, the painting might console her. She meets our Lord, who takes the cloth, and returns it "impressed with the image of his venerable face."

The Christian heart is drawn toward these old writers when it beholds them exalting Christ's power with all their might. There is many a scene for poet and painter to spur Christian work in these writings.

The nearness and might of God are visible in these old authors. The work of angels and evil spirits which the Scriptures describe is present, and we are too faithless in not acknowledging that the same powers work for good and evil to-day as in the time of our Lord. The subjection of heathen rulers to Christ, and the fall of idolatry, were facts in the history of the early church, and how many portents accompanied the advance of the church! In this busy, dusty, toiling, work-day, American life, it is well, sometimes, to strive to catch that early spirit of faith which saw a waiting Christ by the side of every dying martyr, as he was near St. Stephen; and the eyes of the early believers in Christ saw angels clearly, where we see them not. May God open our eyes, that spiritual matters may

be as visible to the soul as the fleeting toys of a day which stir heart and brain are to the bodily eye!

## THE TESTIMONY OF PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CHIEF FACTS OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY CANON ROW.

From *The Universalist*, Chicago, July 18, 1891.

1. THESE letters prove as an unquestionable fact that St. Paul, from the date of his conversion, was firmly persuaded that Jesus Christ rose from the dead; that this belief was the foundation of the existence of the Church as a society, and that it was the sole ground on which, after his crucifixion, Jesus was again proclaimed to be the Christ. Also that, during his career as a persecutor, he had been unable to discover how this belief could have originated except in the reality. This carries the belief in the resurrection as a fact up to within five or six years of the crucifixion at the latest.

2. They prove that all the churches, when the apostle composed these letters, accepted the resurrection of Jesus as the sole groundwork of their existence, and considered it fundamental to their spiritual life.

3. They further prove that this belief was not one that had recently sprung up, but that it was contemporaneous with their first acceptance of Christianity.

4. They prove that it was the accepted belief, not only of the churches formed by Paul, but also of those with whom he had no connection.

5. They prove that the fact of the resurrection was accepted equally by those who denied Paul's apostleship as by his followers. As the former were Judaizing Christians, who claimed the authority of the church of Jerusalem for their opinions, this establishes the fact that it must have been the fully accepted belief of that church. This carries us up to the date of its foundation, and proves that the church was reconstructed on the basis of that belief immediately after the crucifixion.

6. They prove that the following persons believed that they had seen Jesus Christ alive after his crucifixion—viz., Simon Peter, James, the eleven apostles on two occasions; more than five hundred persons on another occasion, of whom upward of two hundred and fifty were alive when St. Paul wrote his first letter to the Corinthians; and finally, Paul himself.

7. The churches persuaded that were possible and that phenomena and xiv. Corinth of these operation through you may bearing establish belief in the but coev

8. The evidence session our Lord outlines is contained number large, numerous example form a "I beseege gentlemen an exhortation less unwilling to whom an accession him as "We have express that the to be in tails of Jesus Christ have been sufficient of Christianity "Even There of his him as bers of for you the Church extract than which an accessible I as that the like a without



7. They prove that St. Paul and the churches to whom he wrote were firmly persuaded that a number of supernatural gifts were possessed by many of their members, and that their manifestation was an habitual phenomenon among them. The xii., xiii., and xiv. chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians contain a very full description of these gifts, and of the mode of their operation. I must ask you to read them through with the utmost care, in order that you may be able to rightly estimate their bearing on the present argument. They establish, beyond all contradiction, that the belief in the presence of supernatural powers in the Church was not of a late growth, but coeval with its origin.

8. They prove, on the most undeniable evidence, that the Church was in the possession of an account of the chief facts of our Lord's ministry, which, in its leading outlines, must have agreed with that which is contained in our present gospels. The number of direct references to it is not large, but the incidental ones are very numerous. Of these latter I will give a few examples for the purpose of enabling you to form an idea of their general character. "I beseech you," says St. Paul, "by the gentleness and meekness of Christ." Such an exhortation would have been meaningless unless the writer felt certain that those to whom he wrote were well acquainted with an account of his actions, which exhibited him as a bright example of those qualities. "We have the mind of Christ." Such an expression as "the mind of Christ" proves that the Church must have believed itself to be in possession of very considerable details of his teaching. "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." This proves that there must have been treasured up in the Church a sufficiently extensive account of the actions of Christ, as to enable a comparison to be instituted between them and those of Paul. "Even so Christ pleased not himself." There must, therefore, have been a number of his well-known actions which exhibited him as the greatest of self-sacrificers. Numbers of similar examples you may easily find for yourself. Nothing can be clearer, as the Church was based not on a set of abstract dogmas, but on a personal history, than that it must have been a matter in which its very life was concerned, to keep an account of his actions and his teachings steadily before it.

I ask your earnest attention to the fact that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is not like an occurrence that has passed away without leaving behind it any traces of its

existence. On it is based the greatest institution which has existed among men—the Christian Church. This has lived with a continuous life for eighteen centuries, and has exerted an influence which is absolutely world-wide. So closely connected is the resurrection of Jesus with the origin of this great institution that unless his followers had been firmly persuaded of its reality it could never have come into existence; and if it could be proved that Jesus is now sleeping in his grave, mighty as it is, it would crumble into ruins.

In surveying the evidence of the resurrection, it is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the Church as a visible institution. It exists now. Nothing is more certain than that it was in existence and in a state of vigorous growth in the year 40 of our era. Equally certain it is that it was not in existence in the year 20. Its birth, therefore, took place in a definite and well-known period of time. It originated in the following facts: A person called Jesus appeared, who claimed to be the Christ whose coming was predicted in the Old Testament Scriptures. He collected together a body of followers, whose bond of union was that they believed that he was this Christ. On account of this claim he was publicly crucified at Jerusalem, under the authority of the Roman government. As it was impossible that a dead man could be the Christ, his public execution, unless it had been redeemed by the belief of his resurrection, must have been fatal to the existence of this society and have caused its certain dissolution. But the Church did not perish. It was reconstructed immediately after his crucifixion. How was this effected? What alone rendered it possible? His disciples affirmed that he was risen again from the dead and that they had seen him alive. In the firm belief of its truth they proceeded to reconstruct the society. They proclaimed him to be a living Christ; and, as such, he became again the centre of the Church's life. The attempt proved a great success. The society spread rapidly, until it became the greatest institution in the world. After eighteen centuries it still lives with unabated energy, having affected by its influence the whole course of human civilization. To this hour the centre of its vitality continues to be attachment to Jesus as a living person. These are facts that it would be madness to dispute.

The account which this great society has ever given of its origin is worthy of profound attention. Such an account has a right to be accepted as the true one until it

can be shown to be impossible. The Church cannot have been mistaken as to the cause that gave it birth. When, therefore, it affirms that its renewed life was due to the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, it is certain that it must have been owing to this and to no other cause. I ask, therefore, your deep attention to the following consideration: If Jesus really rose from the dead, his resurrection is a cause fully adequate to account for the origin and the past history of this great society. The sternest system of philosophy must admit that the cause which the Church has ever affirmed to have created it, is one, if true, that is entirely adequate to have produced the results, and is a complete solution of all the facts of history. This being so we are, on every ground of reason, entitled to accept the resurrection as a fact, until some other cause can be pointed out that was sufficient to have produced all the phenomena before us. If unbelievers affirm that the resurrection is a fiction, they are bound by every principle of a sound philosophy to point out clearly and distinctly what causes other than its truth originated the Church, and have been adequate to produce its subsequent history. So far then, the Church is a standing witness to the truth of the resurrection.

#### BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS.

From *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.) Chicago, July 29, 1891.

THIS is a powerful organization for promoting Catholicism among Indians, and to this end it seeks to secure the largest possible number of Catholics in the government Indian service. As a result of these efforts many Indian agents, their clerks and other employes are Catholics. It has made a special point of securing the control of as many government schools as practicable, several of which are entirely officered by Catholics, and are as absolutely parochial schools for the distinct propagation of Catholicism, as if they were supported by church mission funds instead of public funds. The Roman catechism is the basis of all the instruction, the mass is celebrated in some of them, and especial pains are taken to drill the pupils in all the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church. This bureau has accomplished its greatest work, perhaps, in procuring immense sums of public money for the support of its mission schools. The growth of these appropriations is seen in the following ex-

hibit: The amounts secured have been as follows: 1886, \$118,343; 1887, \$194,635; 1888, \$221,169; 1889, \$347,672; 1890, \$356,957; 1891, \$363,349. The bureau is in close contact with the cardinal and all the hierarchy, and can summon to Washington at short notice very powerful support—archbishops, bishops, priests, and influential laymen to wait upon the president, or to lobby with senators and members of congress in order to carry through any scheme it has on hand, such as securing new legislation, influencing appointments, or defeating measures which they regard as in any way detrimental to the interests of Catholicism. During the last administration the superintendent of Indian schools, Mr. Riley, was a Catholic, as was the chief of the education division in the Indian bureau, his first assistant and principal clerk. The commissioner of Indian affairs was subservient to Catholic interests, and in fact, the Indian bureau was completely dominated by the Catholic bureau, in consequence of which the government Indian schools were neglected, and the Catholic schools fostered in every possible way.

When the present commissioner announced his intention of developing a system of non-partisan, non-sectarian government Indian schools, modelled after the public schools, the Catholic bureau immediately became alarmed, and entered upon a most vigorous campaign to obstruct his work. The Catholic congress assembled in Baltimore appointed a strong delegation, with Bishop Ireland at its head, to wait upon the president, and demand that he should recall the nomination of General Morgan, which he declined to do. The head of the Catholic bureau then filed charges before the senate committee, accusing the commissioner of falsehood, bigotry, and dishonor, and a tremendous outside pressure was brought to bear upon individual senators to induce them to vote against his confirmation. The attempt was made to combine the democrats against him as a party measure, but without success. An effort was then made to secure enough votes to defeat him from among republican senators, and among those thus influenced were Pierce of North Dakota and Ingalls of Kansas, both of whom have just failed of re-election. But notwithstanding all these efforts, the commissioner was confirmed. In the papers submitted to the senate the Catholic bureau made a violent attack upon the government schools, with a view of preventing an increase of appropriations for them, but congress voted nearly half a million dollars more for Indian edu-

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education than ever before, raising the amount to nearly two million dollars.

During the past year articles emanating from Washington, and presumably inspired by the Catholic bureau assailing the commissioner's policy and personal character, have been widely published, and apparently no pains have been spared to weaken his hands and destroy his work. Indians have been instructed not to patronize the government schools, and have been told that if their children went to these institutions they would die and go to hell. A petition drawn up in Washington was sent to a certain tribe and circulated for signatures, protesting against the establishing of a government school among them, but when questioned about it, the Indians did not seem to know what it was that they had signed.

When the Sioux troubles arose an effort was made to throw the blame upon the commissioner, and "Father Craft," who was once expelled from the Sioux country for inciting the Indians to disloyalty, published a pretended interview with Chief Red Cloud, complaining bitterly of the interior department. This interview has been pronounced spurious by Dr. Bland, the personal friend and correspondent of Red Cloud. Father Craft, in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, lays the blame of the trouble upon "the blunders and cruelties of the commissioner." The Catholics, having refused to accept the very liberal award of money made for parochial schools, withheld their contracts until they became seriously embarrassed for money, and then attempted to throw the responsibility upon the commissioner. Resolutions inspired, and probably framed by those connected with the Catholic bureau, calling for the investigation of the Indian bureau, have been presented to congress, and are now before the committee on rules. This brief recital of the principal events in this effort of the Roman hierarchy to strike down a public official for refusing to promote their scheme for diverting millions of dollars of public money into the coffers of the Catholic church, for the propagation of Catholicism, has awakened wide public interest.

A good 'Varsity story is told of the Bishop of Melbourne, who has just been presented with a pastoral staff. He rejoices in a striking combination of names—Field Flowers Goe—and the story goes that, failing to satisfy his examiners at a *vivâ voce* examination, he was sarcastically told by one of them that "The Field is ploughed, the Flowers are plucked, and you, sir, can Goe."

## PARAGRAPHIC.

PHILLIPS BROOKS, Dr. McVickar, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Robinson, the builder of Boston's Trinity church, were once in Leeds, England, together, and formed a stalwart party, as Dr. Brooks is more than six feet tall, Mr. Robinson six feet two inches, and Dr. McVickar six feet four inches. Hearing that a lecturer would address the working classes on "America and Americans," they determined to hear an Englishman's opinion of their countrymen. Unfortunately the lecturer stated that Americans were, as a rule, short of stature, and if there were any in the audience he would be pleased to have the opportunity of demonstrating the statement. Phillips Brooks rose to his feet and said: "I am an American, and, as you see, about six feet in height, and sincerely hope that if there is any other representative of my country here he will rise." After a moment's interval Mr. Robinson rose and said: "I am from America, in which country my height—six feet two—is the subject of no remark. If there be any other American here, I hope that he will rise." The house was in a jolly humor. Waiting until the excitement could abate in some degree, and the lecturer regain control of his shattered nerves, Dr. McVickar slowly drew his majestic form to its full height, and exclaimed: "I am an—" But he got no further. The audience roared, and the lecturer said no more on that subject.—*Christian Herald*.

REV. W. HARPER has lately written a paper on the hindrances to missionary work in India. Among other things he says, "Time permits me to mention only one other hindrance. It is the evil done by what our American friends would call tall writing and tall speaking about our work. The missionary who, as things go, asserts that India will presently be Christianized is either vehemently piping to the popular ear or he is singularly defective in sound judgment. The great evil of this is that, among the home churches, it raises false hopes, nourishes impatience for results, and stimulates that tremendous moral pressure for results which many missionaries cannot altogether resist. It feeds the fever for statistics; it formulates estimates for so many and so many conversions within a given time; and from first to last, it is the mother of endless humbug. It discourages the humble, earnest, true worker; it encourages the multiplication of mock missionaries with their mock results, and it fills the churches less or more with wolves in sheep's clothing. My belief is that the best missionary work in India is but little heard of, and but little thought of, while the Lord is laying the foundations of Zion in India. 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' The missionary dreamer, or fiction weaver, though popular, is a great hindrance in the way of hastening slowly; and in the way of humble, patient waiting on God—the secret of true success."—*Central Presbyterian*.

OF Thomas Valpy French, ex-Anglican bishop of Lahore, and a missionary to Muscat, Arabia, who died recently, a fellow-laborer says: "For several years his life has been the steady carrying out of two great principles: 1. That the lands under the rule of Islam belong to Christ, and that it is the bounden duty of the Church to claim them for our Lord; and, 2. That that duty can only be performed by men who are willing to die in carrying it out."—*Northwestern Christian Advocate*.

## LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH. (The Bohlen Lectures for 1891.) By WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, Rector of Grace Church, New York. New York: Scribner, 1891. Pp. xvi., 239, 12mo, cloth, \$1.25.

This volume, for which we predict a large circulation, consists of six lectures delivered in 1891 on the Bohlen foundation. Its purpose is to expound and indicate, as a basis of church unity, the Four Articles proposed by the American bishops, and adopted with slight modifications by the Lambeth Conference of 1888; "the Chicago-Lambeth basis," as it is aptly named. It is a masterpiece of art, voicing in eloquent words the aspirations of all Christian hearts for the speedy fulfilment of the prayer of the Great High-priest, "that they all may be one," "that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

To many who most ardently desire it, church unity seems but a dream, beautiful but illusive, a mere "will-o'-the-wisp," which allures only to elude. The union of all the scattered and discordant denominations of this land into one American Church, is it an impracticable ideal? In laboring toward such a consummation are we not sure at least that "we are laborers together with God," and while to men it may be impossible, with God all things are possible? Most of the multitudinous churches of this land, whose present divisions are the shame of our Christendom, were originally one. Of the same race, speaking the same language, dwelling together in the same island homestead, inheriting the same laws, institutions, and traditions, they were martyrs and confessors of the same faith. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, the three great families into which we now group them were marshalled under the same banner, stood side by side on many a bloody field, fought together the battles of civil and religious freedom, and sealed with their blood the chartered liberties we inherit to-day. While the men of war were still battling on the field, sages met in council, and thus again Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents sat together in the Westminster Assembly, framed by their joint counsels a symbol of the common faith accepted by Parliament, Convocation, Conference, and General Assembly, and declared by statute to be the Confession of the whole United Kingdom. And such it remains substantially to this day. The Prayer-Book is but a revised edition of the old Confession, formulating the same articles of faith and reiterating the same doctrine as to the Church, the sacraments, and the ministry. It was not theological or ecclesiastical, but political differences which led to the separation of Anglicans and Puritans. And now that in this land the causes of separation have passed away, why should not the differences themselves cease?

The question is beginning to be asked on every side, and proposals looking toward its solution have come from many quarters. The most hopeful of all these, we are persuaded, are the Chicago Lambeth articles. Had they been offered by the Anglican bishops to the Puritans in 1661, the division had never taken place. Brief as they are, they are sufficient for the end proposed, a statement of present agreements among evangelical churches as a basis for conferences looking to a larger agreement. Of the Four Articles, the first relates to the Standard of Faith, always the vital

question, but in these times of ours of present and pressing and pre-eminent concern. With no uncertain voice the supremacy of the Scriptures is declared. The Second Article relates to the Creed, and gives us the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as "sufficient," leaving the sublime mysteries of the Romans and Ephesians, as unfolded in the XXXIX Articles and the Westminster Confession, for those already saved; it proposes to take the simple Gospel which Paul declares he preached to the unevangelized of his day to the unevangelized masses with which we are confronted at home and abroad—"How that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." Milk for babes, strong meat for men was Paul's method. The Third Article relates to the sacraments, limits their number to Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, and requires their observance as originally instituted.

The fourth and final Article relates to the historic episcopate. Of least intrinsic importance, as belonging to the polity of the Church, it has for adventitious reasons been thrust into the place of supreme importance. "The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his Church." Such are its terms, carefully chosen and securely guarded. Scrutinize them closely as you will, you can find nothing affirmed of the episcopate, either expressly or by implication, which does not belong to the common faith of Protestant Christendom. It is not a biblical nor an apostolic, but an historic episcopate, and so the old controversies on the subject are all adjusted. It does not claim for existing episcopates, Anglican or American, divine right or apostolic succession, but only historic unity. The office of the episcopate as to its functions and methods of administration is not fixed in one invariable form, but is subject to indefinite variations and adaptations to the needs of different nations and peoples. Historically there have been presbyter bishops, and parochial bishops, and diocesan bishops, and metropolitans, and patriarchs, and popes. Which one of these or what combination of some or all is to be chosen is left an open question for conference. The authors of this Article had no doubt very positive convictions of their own on the whole subject of the episcopate. Some of them we may believe held a theory we could not accept. But nothing of this appears on the face of the Article itself. And in the paper which accompanies it they are careful to disclaim in emphatic terms all latent meanings and indirect ends. They declare that "this Church does not seek to absorb other communions;" that with reference to "modes of worship and discipline and traditional observances," the peculiarities of the Prayer-Book, "this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own." It is a magnanimous declaration, and deserves to be met without suspicions or whisperings, in the same spirit. The Episcopal Commission, which speaks with authority, says in its letter to the committee of the Presbyterian Church: "The only authoritative deliverance in respect to the three-fold character of the Orders of the Sacred Ministry that our Church hath put forth is found in the preface to our Ordinal, wherein it is declared 'that is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons.' This we believe to have been placed in

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that position as the statement of what is historic, what is evident unto all men, and not at all as a dogmatic article of faith. It is placed there as a declaration of ecclesiastical polity, as this Church hath intended the same." "An historical fact," "a matter of ecclesiastical polity, as this Church has intended the same, and not at all a dogmatic article of faith;" we are glad to meet and confer with our Episcopal brethren on such a basis as this.

JOSEPH T. SMITH.

BALTIMORE.

#### THE CHURCH: HER MINISTRY AND SACRAMENTS.

Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1890.

By HENRY J. VAN DYKE, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1890. 8vo. pp. ix., 265. \$1.50.

The recent translation of the author, as in a moment from the labors of earth to the rewards of heaven, adds a peculiar element of interest to this volume. He was a man of marked character: genuine and earnest in his convictions, vigorous and cultivated in intellect, manly in his advocacy of whatever he believed to be the truth of God, resolute in opposing what he regarded as evil, a devoted and successful servant of the Church, a lover of good causes, a faithful friend, a man among men everywhere. It was my privilege to place in his hands the insignia of his induction to the highest place of honor in our Presbyterian Zion. It was my greater privilege to enjoy in later years the advantages of an extensive correspondence with him, and of most intimate and brotherly intercourse, especially in connection with certain important ecclesiastical interests. His labors in behalf of a thorough revision of the Westminster Confession, always sincere and earnest, and in a high degree judicious and effectual, are known to all who are familiar with recent movements in the denomination to whose highest development and welfare he was so zealously devoted. His death, just at the acme of his powers and his influence, and while standing on the threshold of what seemed to be a new sphere of peculiar honor and usefulness, was a denominational bereavement, and an occasion of sadness in wider relations. In view of that sudden death one reads with a painful interest these words (p. 73) from the volume here noticed:

"I am a Presbyterian, not only by birth, but by conviction, and yield to none in loyalty to the denomination in whose service my life has been spent, and in whose bosom I hope to die. But I do not expect to be a Presbyterian, nor anything of the kind, in heaven. And as my sun grows larger and more mellow toward its setting, I would gladly exchange everything that is not essentially Christian for a few of the days of heaven on earth, in the unity and peace of the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood."

This treatise was first delivered last year at Princeton Seminary on the Stone foundation, as a special series of seven lectures, and was published shortly after, with a valuable appendix, for more general circulation. It discusses at the outset the broad doctrine of the *Holy Catholic Church*, and of the *Kingdom of Christ* on earth, with particular reference to the practical problem of the *Unity of the Visible Church* among men. It then considers the question of church-membership, and especially the *Membership of Infants* in the household of faith, and also the question of *Ordination to the Ministry*, and the qualifications for that sacred

office. It closes with two interesting lectures on the *Lord's Supper* and the proper *Administration of the Sacraments*. The appendix is explanatory of topics not so fully set forth in the lectures themselves.

The general position of the author, as might be anticipated, is strongly Presbyterian and in a marked degree churchly, and yet in a high degree generous and catholic. He rejects the papal and episcopal claims as unwarranted, yet emphasizes "the grace of orders," and with great earnestness exalts the ministerial office to its proper place of dignity and influence within the Church. He rejects also the antique dogma of church government *jure divino*, even in the Presbyterian form, and recognizes the propriety of variety in forms and usages, according to the developing needs of the church as an organization, in any given country or age. The present necessity for existing denominations is admitted, and loyalty on the part of each to his own denomination is urged on the ground that only thus can the highest usefulness of the whole be secured; but at the same time the evils of denominationalism, and especially of a narrow and antagonizing sectarianism, are strongly presented, and the worth of a spiritual catholicity as strongly advocated. Believing in creeds and advocating them as helpful, if not indispensable in the present condition of Christendom, the author nowhere lifts even his favorite creed of Westminster above the Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith, or claims for it an unwarranted measure of supremacy over other Protestant beliefs. As he frankly says in his preface, he is *high-churchly* in his doctrine of the divine origin and authority of the Church and its ministry and sacraments, and at the same time *broad-churchly* in his views of the constitution of the Church, and his readiness to subordinate differences in doctrine, government, and form to the fundamental matter of unity among all who love Christ.

His teaching on some particular points, more or less in issue in our time, is worthy of thoughtful consideration. For example, he affirms with great earnestness the extraordinary possibilities of salvation, even outside of the territory of the Church; maintaining that "no human soul will be lost whom it is possible for God to save consistently with His own attributes, with the freedom of the human will, and with the best interests of the intelligent universe." He declares that the Church has no right to shut the gates of mercy by excluding any from salvation, and that "*Christ has cosmic relations* which, because they do not come within the sphere of our agency and responsibility, are but occasionally hinted at in Scripture." In wide contrast with this fact, he maintains that modern millenarianism is a pessimistic perversion of that comprehensive Gospel, fundamentally out of harmony with the teachings of the Holy Word. He affirms boldly the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, not as an abstract theory, but as a good and necessary inference from the biblical doctrine concerning the character and especially the grace of God. As to the place and relation of the children of believers within the visible Church, he takes high, if not extremely high ground, though he strongly repudiates the dogma of sacramental grace in connection with baptism. He emphasizes the divine element in contrast with the human elements in ordination to the ministry, going so far as to affirm the presence of a special type of grace conferred at such ordination upon every true minister. His view of the eucharist, as to its nature and its relations to the spiritual life, is characterized by the same tendency of thought, rising at

some points almost to the verge of affirming what is called eucharistic grace.

Other illustrations of the fresh, suggestive, practical, as well as speculative teachings of this treatise must be omitted. Would that its author might have been spared to formulate his system of theology more fully, and to make other contributions to our knowledge and our faith! How elevated and inspiring such a service might have been is beautifully apparent in these sentences from the preface to this volume:

"I claim to be a minister, not only of the Presbyterian Church, but of the one visible Church of Christ: and the larger relation dominates and moulds my thoughts and feelings. I long for the time when all the ministers and churches of Christ shall cease their rivalries and their witness-bearing against each other, and shall unite in the larger and more important work of testifying the grace of God in all the world to every creature, and in co-operation for the triumphant establishment of Christ's Kingdom in all the earth."

E. D. MORRIS.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE PSALMS. A New Translation, with Introductory Essay and Notes. By JOHN DE WITT, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xxxvi., 325, \$2.

Perhaps the most useful notice of this book will be one that shall merely attempt to differentiate it from other translations of the Psalms into English. There is no best method for such translation; that which is best from one point of view is not so from another. There are advantages in a simple rendering of the sense, with no attempt to transfer the outward poetical form; one who translates thus can give his entire attention to the correct and adequate presenting of the meaning. The method most unlike this is that of the so-called metrical versions, found in our hymn-books and elsewhere. Many of these are fine from a literary point of view, and a few are good translations. As a rule, however, they are either poetically clumsy, or else are not translations, but original poems suggested by the psalm in hand. And yet some of them catch and convey the poetic fire of the psalm in such a way as largely compensate for the lack of exactness in the rendering. But between these two extremes many middle courses are open to the translator.

Of the course most commonly followed a good example is found in the Revised Version of the Old Testament, where the external form of the poetry is marked by dividing the lines and occasionally by paragraphing, so as to indicate the strophes. This method has the advantage that the translator is not cramped by it. Commonly he is just as free to conform his work exactly to the sense of the words and the syntax as he would be if he paid no attention to the lines. It has the further advantage of strongly emphasizing parallelism of statement as the prevailing outward mark of Hebrew poetry. But it has the disadvantage of enabling the translator to indicate mechanically that what he is translating is poetry, and thus often of relieving him from the responsibility of making his translation really poetical; and the further disadvantage that it may give the mistaken impression that parallelism of statement is the only external mark of Hebrew poetry, to the exclusion of rhythm and all like marks.

Present Hebrew scholarship emphasizes the doc-

trine that Hebrew poetry is marked by rhythm as well as by parallelism of statement. What are the laws of the rhythm, or even whether it has laws that are capable of being briefly and simply stated, are questions in dispute; but the fact that the rhythm exists is not disputed. In illustration of this many attempts have been made to transfer the rhythm of particular psalms to English translations. One takes the Hebrew as it stands, and translates, line by line, so that the succession of long and short syllables and of accented and unaccented syllables shall be the same in the English lines as in the Hebrew. Others attempt to formulate the laws of Hebrew rhythm, and then translate into English lines subject to the same rhythmic laws. Work of this kind, patiently and well done, is of very great value for certain purposes, but is generally too cramped for true and spirited translation.

Yet another method is possible—a method which depends largely on the gifts of the individual translator, but which, in competent hands, combines some of the advantages and avoids some of the disadvantages of those thus far mentioned. Translate the Hebrew line by line, aiming to make the translation correct and spirited, but making the English lines distinctly rhythmic, and rhythmic in such fashion as to present to the ear some analogy to the rhythm of the Hebrew. Where convenient, let the English line carry the same rhythmic alternation of syllables with the Hebrew line, but not to the extent of cramping the freedom and spirit of the translation. Where there is sufficient reason, but not elsewhere, take such liberties as the changing of lines or paraphrasing. One who is deficient in scholarship or judgment or poetic appreciation or delicacy, working in this method will simply make a mess of it; but one who is sufficiently endowed with these gifts may have large success in transferring to English both the correct meaning and the poetic fire of a psalm. His work cannot take the place of a mechanically literal translation, but supplementing such a translation, it may lift the reader into an appreciation of the Psalms such as would otherwise be impossible.

This last method is the one employed in Dr. De Witt's book, and Dr. De Witt has the scholarship, the good judgment, the poetic appreciation and delicacy, and the spiritual discernment requisite for making it a success. For a systematic study of the Psalms, this work would hardly supersede the use of a merely literal translation, or of a systematic commentary; and yet it would not be surprising if many students, using this along with other helps, should find it worth more to them than any of the others.

The writer of this notice might specify many things in this book that seem to him to be faults, though most of these would perhaps resolve themselves into differences of opinion between Dr. De Witt and himself, but mainly the work commands his hearty admiration. There are very few brief essays on the Psalms that are anywhere near so well worth a careful reading as the Introductory Essay of this volume. As the work, in earlier form, has been twice before published, once in 1884 and once in 1889, and practically has been rewritten, it has a literary finish that it might not otherwise have attained. In Hebrew scholarship it is up to date, though its position in questions concerning authorship and in all questions that touch the doctrine of inspiration is conservative. Dr. De Witt is one of those conservative scholars who are not afraid to recognize the merits of men who differ with them or to learn even from their

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opponents. The notes are always to the point and are usually valuable, though they do not constitute a complete commentary on the book. The printer has done his work admirably. The volume contains nearly 400 pages, the printed matter on a page measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 4 inches.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.  
AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

#### QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

##### CONTENTS PAGES AND DIGESTS OF THEIR PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.

##### PRESENT TENDENCIES IN GERMAN PHILOSOPHY. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

The student finds it one of his most difficult tasks to correctly understand the trend of thought in his own line, yet unless he does understand and keep in touch with it, his work is likely to be of very little account. Hence the value of such sketches as are found in the inaugural address of Dr. Falkenberg, which gives a careful *resumé* of the present tendencies of German philosophy.

This is undoubtedly an age of detail, of minute investigation, rather than of larger thought. The colossal systems of metaphysics of the early part of the present century have vanished, and rather than attempt to rear others, men are turning their attention to history and to the physiological basis of psychology. The change has this advantage that it permits quiet, detailed preparation for the future, but is unfortunate so far as it averts attention from the fundamental problems of the human race. Thus there is an immense amount of scattering individual work which makes a proper criticism of results almost impossible.

The last century shows four stages of philosophy. The first, that of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*; the second, Hegel's work on the orthodox dogma in the universities. In the third there was a general breaking up, only the vestiges of older systems remaining, and science seemed to determine the channel of thought so far as there was one, and materialism held full sway. Dissatisfaction with the idea that thought was a mere physiological product of the brain had spread even before 1865, under the influence of Darwin and the evolutionists, Helmholtz and the physiologists, and Lotze, with his medical studies.

Scientific men have been wont to declaim one moment against philosophy and then to philosophize most wildly, but during this period there were many who worked out from narrower lines to a broader outlook, and the result has been that for the past twenty-five years the watchword has been, "Back to Kant." The general characteristic of the Neo-Kantianism is the rejection of metaphysics. As we know only phenomena, materialism and spiritualism are alike unfounded. The great problem of the philosopher is the theory of knowledge; his work to explain the origin and nature of experience, to find the laws of science, solve the question of causation. This idea is the most striking characteristic of German thought to-day, controlling historians, scientists, and theologians.

The one metaphysical question is, Is metaphysics possible? Some deny it entirely, while a few are trying to construct a metaphysics on the old line

and with the old methods. Intermediate between these are a class, seeking to found a new metaphysics with a new method, starting with the relation of mental and physical facts, asking how much of our external world is due to the constitutions of our minds? The method is new in that it is not regardless of facts, the aim modest in that it does not seek to comprehend all reality in one grand system, but studies the results of science and their mutual relation.

The influence of Hegel is still evident in the study of the history of philosophy and in the philosophy of religion, but there is no one of the former leaders of metaphysical thought that has so large a following to-day as Herbart, especially in ethics and psychology, even physiological psychology owing much to his influence.

In ethics the long and rather barren period in Germany is passing, and English utilitarianism is striving with the followers of Herbart, who refer rules of action back to the fundamental ideas of freedom, perfection, etc. Logic, too, is finding new life, being connected with living processes of thought, and acting upon psychology, which again reacts upon it.

German philosophy to-day is exceedingly modest, except for occasional pride of this very modesty. The work is indeed scientific rather than philosophical, gathering the facts for a new era of active production.

Two evils are to be combated: 1. A divorce between what the investigator believes as an individual and what he defends before his companions in thought, the separation between personal conviction and the effort for scientific exactness. 2. A divorce between reason and feeling, a tendency to deny the latter any influence on the results reached by thought. Those who forget that thought and feeling are complementary, and work from a one-sided theory of knowledge, do not and cannot give philosophy its power in the world.

##### THE DRIFT OF DOGMATIC THOUGHT IN GERMANY DURING THE LAST DECADE. By DR. ADOLF ZAHN, of Stuttgart, Germany. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1891.

In this article Dr. Zahn undertakes to set forth the true nature of what is supposed to be German unbelief, and calls attention to the fact that it is a great mistake to conclude that, as a result of this unbelief, there is in Germany a specially degenerated condition of morals. Everywhere there is a sense of duty, a fidelity in office, a respect for law and order, and a spirit of diligence and painstaking work. The general prosperous condition of the country, as instanced in its cities, is, in truth, the outcome of the Reformation and of the Bible in evangelical common schools. Still it is a fact that the German often turns his back upon the Church, the Bible, and all recognition of Christian things as soon as he has made his public profession. The great mass of the educated class appear indifferent, cold, and disinclined to religious things, while atheism seems to have possessed the working people, resulting in a desire to overturn the entire existing order of things. Thus it results that the best pastor is a little man among his people; and the best professor, shut up to his students, is not in touch with the people, and has no connection with the religious element around him. A revision of the evangelical confessions would in Germany interest the clergy only, not the laity. In connection with this he calls attention to the meagreness of

the dogmatic systems of Germany to-day in comparison with those of the time of the Reformation.

Dr. Zahn then calls especial attention to the difference between to-day and former times, and makes a number of points as to the general belief: (1) That the philosophy which denies miracles and prophecy, and recognizes only a pure historical development of things, is assuredly right; (2) the inspiration of the Scriptures conceived of by older writers is too mechanical, and therefore untrue; and in carrying out the rights of criticism we must declare that the Bible is no longer the only source of Christian truth, placing the experience of the believer instead of the Scriptures; (3) the subjection and bondage of the human will is given up; (4) a refined or crude Synergism and Pelagianism dominates every system; (5) predestination or the free choice of grace is generally abandoned; (6) justification and sanctification are confused; (7) sanctification is looked upon in accordance with the laws of human moral development, and, as a consequence, its mystery and Divine origin are lost sight of.

Then follow four sections discussing (1) the preparation for Ritschl; (2) his system; (3) his schools; and (4) the latest discussions. In the preparation for Ritschl the leaders are Luthardt, Dörner, Beck, Heppe, and others, all of whom start from man's self-sufficiency apart from God, and are thus unable to understand such writers as the evangelist John or the apostle Paul. The appearance on the scene of Ritschl, with his dogmatic system, created a profound sensation and held the whole German theological world until his death, in 1888. His tendency is to derive Christian truth entirely from the revelation of God in Christ. The natural religion is to be entirely dispensed with, and there is no general revelation of God outside of the revelation of the Scriptures. The underlying principle of Scripture is restricted by holding that in its revelation no theoretic teaching is developed, only a mere declaring of the Divine will. Man has the ability to free himself from the control of laws of causes, and set in motion a new order of operation, and can realize his end only when there exists a God who subjects nature to the aims and ultimate purposes of the spirit. And so God appears simply as means to an end. Christ is before all else the teacher teaching us to recognize the moral purpose God has for the world as His own self-purpose wherein He gives us proof of His own love and of God's. Love, however, He considers simply the making of another purpose one's own purpose; and the whole of God's revelation of Himself and Christ is summed up in "trust in God, fidelity in calling, and love to man." There is no such thing as original sin. Sin is with us purely voluntary; even our bias toward the bad is not distinctive. And so on through the general discussion in a manner that is distinctively negative and rationalistic, though with the form and appearance of being positive. It is difficult to understand, as Dr. Zahn says, how so void and vacant a system could have won so great applause. Its success is undoubtedly due to the following facts: (1) Speculative theology had produced a general weariness and dissatisfaction; (2) experimental knowledge of the Scripture had more and more died away; everything was considered only in an historic-empirical way; and (3) a most vigorous propaganda was made in his behalf. Taking up those who have followed Ritschl, the most prominent ones are Bender, of Bonn; Kaftan, of Berlin; Haring, of Göttingen; Herman, of Marburg; and A. Harnack, of Berlin, the last by far the most

talented. He takes an extremely radical position toward the New Testament, warning against an overrating of the theology of Paul, and claiming that the history of the canon is so obscure that it is impossible to know how the East came into the possession of the Catholic epistles.

The whole article is interesting reading as illustrating the statement, made at the very beginning, with regard to the separation between the professors, who are the leaders in dogmatic discussion, and the people. That simple fact throws a flood of light upon the whole question of German unbelief.

A NEGLECTED LIMITATION OF CRITICISM. By Rev. ARTHUR SMITH. *Audover Review*, August, 1891.

The writer takes as the basis of his thought the following quotations from Professor Bowen's "A Layman's Study of the English Bible": "I know it is said by those who deprecate any such regard for the consequence of our opinions, that we have only to follow out loyally our own doubts or convictions, be they what they may, since the interests of truth are paramount." But they misconstrue their own adage. We hold as firmly as they do that the truth can do no harm; and it is just because the acceptance of their doctrine does and will do immeasurable harm . . . that we are firmly convinced their doctrine is not the truth." It is often assumed that in the search for truth investigation moves forward from starting points clearly established along lines so plainly marked that the certainty of results reached is assured beyond question by the course followed. On the contrary, changed conditions often affect the methods employed and the accuracy reached, and it is too often the case that methods which would lead to perfectly reliable results under certain conditions are treated as if equally infallible under conditions that are materially different.

Especially is this true in regard to biblical criticism. We are told to judge the difficulties in the Bible just as we would those in any other book. But there is no invariable procedure in other books. An error in one writer is attributed to ignorance; in another to wilful misrepresentation; in still another to accidental oversight. Writings are judged in the same way as acts. An injury is deemed unintentional or deliberate not so much from the act itself as from the nature of the person who did it. In the Scriptures the greater part of the vexed questions have to do with the conduct and testimony of its different characters; and hence, in judging of them, we must recognize certain general principles which rule in other matters of evidence.

Among these the author notes the following: "The rules of legal procedure recognize the impossibility in certain cases of reaching a judicial decision. Not guilty does not necessarily mean innocent—merely not proven guilty. This, however, does not regulate individual judgments, which may be clear, though the court may be undecided."

Again, they do not require the same degree of certainty for different kinds of cases. It is easier to convict of theft than of murder. The consequences of a decision affect indirectly the decision itself, determining the extent of the investigation and the degree of certainty demanded.

The character of the parties involved is taken into consideration; and in the absence of clear proof, evidence is admitted as to what they were likely to do, and this presumptive evidence has

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great influence before a court. Especially is this manifest in general life. When a grave charge of guilt is brought against one whose life is above reproach, it is rejected at once except under absolutely conclusive proof.

These laws apply to criticism in its various departments, including biblical criticism, as well as to legal procedure. To claim that Scripture must be tested precisely as other ancient records are tested is no doubt plausible, but it requires a consideration which has a rightful place. The graver issues involved in it demand a closer certainty than is needed in regard to a critic's verdict on Grecian or Roman history, and evidence that would be held conclusive in the latter case may simply call for a suspension of judgment in the former.

Then, too, there is the presumption in favor of the truthfulness of Scripture, as indicated by the character of the writers and their writings. The confirmation of certain statements presumes the confirmation of others, when we can get at all the facts. This presumption is not prejudice, it is only a part of the evidence.

It must, however, be remembered that when it comes to the ground of Christian faith, the only possible value of criticism is in furnishing proof of the truth of the record, at least in its essential parts; yet even this is impracticable in full, on account of the fragmentary nature of the parts. The true service of criticism is to show that objections urged do not disprove it.

On the other hand, those who rest their faith in experience, and claim the truth of Scripture because of that experience, have no right to use that as an argument in their scientific criticism. Because they feel that Christianity is true, that does not give them the ground for assertion; it only gives them a ground for presumption. The account of the resurrection stands upon the testimony of witnesses whose integrity and credibility must be held unimpaired. It may not, indeed, guarantee minute accuracy in all the details, but imperfection in one particular must be shown not to vitiate others. The picture as a whole must be true, and not distorted.

The attempt thus to establish the trustworthiness of the Scriptures independently through the witness of the Spirit either in the individual or the Church must fail, as that can only yield a presumption. Inspiration in the sense accepted by criticism can at most only vouch for the integrity of the writers. The whole question is still open until the other qualification of trustworthy testimony can be vindicated.

The claim that faith rests upon experience inevitably affects the results, inasmuch as it makes men satisfied with a less degree of certainty. If the evangelists felt that they were merely writing interesting memories of their Lord, instead of words and deeds on which their faith rested, the presumption of their accuracy is diminished; and although these considerations do not bear upon the truth of the claim itself, they show why it and the arguments in support of it have been so strenuously opposed.

Criticism has won valuable and enlarging results, and a great work lies before it, but it will do it wisely only as the limits of its province are kept clearly in view.

TOLSTOÏ AS A REFORMER. By JOHN H. WORCESTER Jr., D.D. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1891.

The outburst of the Slavic race into the struggle

of modern progress has a singular fascination for the somewhat jaded appetite of the intellectual and æsthetic public of Europe and America, not only from the peculiar combinations of imaginative literature and treatises on political economy that are characteristic of its writers, but from the strange and somewhat uncouth personality of its representatives. Of these, the most notable undoubtedly is Count Tolstôï, and in this article Dr. Worcester has given a vivid picture of the impression the Russian has made on an earnest Christian American. First comes a brief sketch of his life, as a man and a novelist, from 1828 to 1878—the date of "Anna Karenina," his last novel, which marked the transition to "My Confession." Then that strange book is summarized, with its story of the influences that made the prosperous nobleman a "Nihilist in the proper acceptance of that word; not a revolutionary socialist, but a man who believed in nothing," and who still, while giving full rein to every lust, was pursuing a vague ideal of perfection along the paths of self-culture. Then came a revolution, which he called a conversion, changing the sense of despair and fear into one of hope and peace, as set forth in "My Religion," published in 1884.

This conversion the writer considers quite fully. Tolstôï finds the corner-stone of his religion, as he found the turning-point in his life, in absolute submission to Jesus, whom, though a mere man, and uninspired, he thinks worthy of unquestioning obedience. From this principle he formulates the following commandments, which he considers as binding upon society, upon the State as upon the individual, unresistance being carried to the extreme:

"I. *Be not angry*: live in peace with all men.

"II. *Do not commit adultery*—i.e., be true for life to the partner with whom you were first united in cohabitation (for this, not any civil or ecclesiastical ceremony, is real marriage), and seek no divorce for any cause. (This interpretation has been since modified into a prohibition of all sexual relations.)

"III. *Take no oath* of any kind, political, military, or judicial. Never bind yourself to do the will of another.

"IV. *Resist not evil*. Neither use nor invoke force of any kind as a protection against wrong. Whatever any one demands of you, give it.

"V. *Love all men as brothers*; the "enemies" whom we are to love meaning foreigners, those of another nationality."

Or, as he elsewhere summarizes the five precepts: "Be not angry. Do not commit adultery. Take no oaths. Resist not evil. Do not make war."

Then comes the point of salvation, which, according to him, is not life hereafter or personal immortality—a thing that Jesus never taught. "Eternal life is the universal life of humanity, past, present, and to come;" hence he who lives for himself perishes. Salvation is repentance, the lifting up in ourselves of the Son of man, and making the life a part of the force that bears men on to the good. For the Church, with its doctrines of the Trinity, the fall, the atonement, the new birth, he has only caricature and ridicule, and holds it the chief obstacle to the spread of the true doctrine. The new social gospel connected with this seems to rest on two propositions: that money is an evil and that physical labor is a duty. The desire for wealth is the cause of the vices of the rich and the miseries of the poor, while physical labor, which is so repugnant to all, is a first law of life, which cannot be violated without loss to ourselves and to others. All, the rich and the intellectual alike,

should provide for their own necessities. This theory Tolstoi has set himself to carry into practice so far as may be done without imposing upon his wife and children, against their will, unwelcome conditions of life. He, however, attempts no propaganda. Holding that "truth in action is the only truth," he seeks to make his life a continued protest against the whole existing order in Church and State, a practical demonstration of a better way.

With regard to the reform itself and its outcome, Dr. Worcester makes the following points:

1. It is impossible not to be moved by the earnestness, the sincerity, the vast human sympathy of the man; and while we question and criticise, we cannot help asking, Which of us, after all, lives as near to his own conviction of what Jesus really did mean?

2. There is everything in the state of Russian society itself to evoke just such a protest as the life of this man, who is but one of many founders of sects, whom the condition of Russian State Christianity has driven to this very thing, differing from the rest chiefly in the power of his genius and the breadth of his culture.

3. At the same time, we must recognize that the reform lacks logical basis and consistency both in its religious and economic sides, which lack is painfully apparent in his latest and most unhappy utterance, "The Kreutzer Sonata."

4. Another and still more fatal weakness is the lack of a spiritual basis. Divine help is unnecessary. Human reason can assert its control over the life. That is all.

5. It is fatally hampered by its practical inconsistency.

Yet with all the drawbacks there remains the indestructible power of a noble and unselfish life, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, summoning men to repentance, and thus, even though not as he thinks it or plans it, preparing the way of the Lord, making His paths straight.

**SLAVERY AS IT APPEARED TO A NORTHERN MAN IN 1844.** By Rev. A. P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D. *Andover Review*, August, 1891.

This is a very entertaining and instructive retrospect of a trip taken in the year when slavery was at its height, accompanied with some comments made in the light of a quarter of a century of emancipation. It is too full of incident to give even a *résumé* here. We can only call attention to a few of Dr. Peabody's deductions, which probably foreshadow the verdict of later history.

As to the slaves, the conclusion he reached was that, on principle, in habit, and even on the ground of self-interest, the greater part of the slave owners were humane in the treatment of their slaves—kind, indulgent, not over-exacting, and sincerely interested in the physical well-being of their dependents. That there were, however, three classes, forming a very large aggregate who were liable, without protection, to undue exaction, hardship, and cruelty: (1) those under overseers; (2) those owned by immigrants from the North; (3) those owned by men too poor to have more than one or two slaves. As to the white population, Dr. Peabody states that he received the very strong impression that slavery was far worse for them than for the negro, indicated (1) by the mixture of the races; (2) by the proverbial shiftlessness, which was so widespread that it was impossible to secure nice mechanical work; (3) the disregard for even common courtesy in social intercourse whenever

the restraint was removed. The article in full is well worth reading.

#### GENERAL SUMMARY.

*The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1891.

"The 'Chambre Ardente' under Henry II." is a historical study of the persecution of the Protestants under Henry II., especially as carried on by this famous tribunal. It sat customarily in the council chamber, and included two presidents and fourteen counsellors or judges taken from the parliamentary body to serve in a special capacity until such time as there should, by reason of the extinction of heresy, be no further need of their services. Its numbers were stimulated to activity by a salary and fees. The actual history of the commission has long been shrouded in doubt, but has been recently brought to light by M. Weiss, a French writer; and the general facts appear very clearly in this article.

"The Ethical Antecedents of the English Drama" discusses the miracle plays, the moralities and interludes and chronicle plays prevalent in England anterior to the Elizabethan period.

Mr. George Adam Smith's "Isaiah" is a review of a book on Isaiah, written on the old lines of expository preaching rather than based on isolated texts. From the general tone we should doubt whether it gives a very accurate idea of the book; the personal pronoun is a little too prominent.

"The Barrier Act of the Church of Scotland in its Relation to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A." is a discussion by Rev. Dr. William H. Roberts, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, of the influence that that Act may have upon the Revision of the Confession of Faith. In it Dr. Roberts controverts the position taken by President Patton, that the only provisions for the amendment of the doctrinal or administrative standards of the American Church are found in the Adopting Act passed by the General Synod in 1788, and bases his argument upon a historical study of the Government, Constitution, and Laws of the Church of Scotland.

"The Inaugural Address of Professor Briggs" is a critique by Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers, in which he claims that this address illustrates in a startling way the degree to which the favorite speculations of the present day, as betokened by the Broad Churchism of F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Dean Stanley, have affected the tone of theological education in the Presbyterian Church.

"The Presbyterian General Assembly" is a review of the proceedings at Detroit, with special reference to the action in regard to Rev. Dr. Briggs and Revision, and the hope is expressed that some of the more important amendments will be rejected or very much modified.

*The Andover Review*, July, 1891.

"Poetry and Philosophy," by Professor John Dewey, of the University of Michigan, is a discussion of the relations of poetry to science, based largely upon a study of Arnold and Robert Browning. The writer claims that the power of poetry lies in its ability to give us the true rendering of the reality of affairs, and that its relation to philosophy and science should be far more intimate, it being the office of the latter to justify and organize the truth that the former, with its quick, naïve contacts, has already felt and reported.

"Alexandre Vinet," by Louis Pollens, of Dartmouth College, is a biographical study of the great

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Swiss theologian, suggested by a somewhat increased interest in him of late years, and based upon a number of books relating to him and his times. The article closes with copious extracts from his writings, throwing special light on his opinions and his character.

"What Value has Goethe's Thought of God for Us?" by Miss Julia H. Gulliver, of Rockford Seminary, Rockford, Ill., does not attempt so much to present a complete compendium of the great poet's religious views as to bring out a few points in which he can give personal help and inspiration. Among these are his earnest belief in the universe as the expression of the Eternal Reason and of the Eternal Love; in the Eternal Activity and necessarily personality of God, though the latter conception is somewhat vague; and in God as the All-enfolder, All-upholder of us all.

"The Indwelling Christ," by Rev. John W. Buckham, of Salem, Mass., is a consideration of the immanence of Christ in man as truly now as when in the flesh on earth, and a claim that this is the underlying principle of the new theology.

*The New Englander and Yale Review*, Aug., 1891.

The August number is a distinctively secular number. Three of the articles, "Protection to Private Property from Public Attack," "Ideals of Medical Education," and "Subsidies to American Shipping," being university addresses and essays.

"A Story from the Cyclads" is a poem, and "Pictorial Tone Reaction" and "Lightning Arresters" are scientific articles.

*The Old and New Testament Student*, Aug., 1891.

"A Study of New Testament Precedent," by Rev. Augustine S. Cannan, M.A., of Ann Arbor, Mich., calls attention to the vague and often contradictory ideas prevalent among many people as to the application of New Testament example to the regulation of Christian conduct, and discusses the true method of judging as to such application.

"Inorganic Nature in the Poem of Job," by Rev. A. P. Brigham of Utica, N. Y., is a study of the terms found in Job descriptive of nature.

*The Missionary Review of the World*, Sept., 1891.

"The Year 1890 in Japan," by Rev. Professor George William Knox, D.D., Tokio, Japan, is a general review of the events of the year, touching upon the general social, political, and theological condition of the people, the stage at which the mission work has arrived; and gives a hopeful view of the future.

"Dr. Griffin on Japan" is a review by the editor-in-chief of Rev. Dr. W. E. Griffin's article on the "Constitution of Japan."

"Buddhism and Christianity" and "Buddhism and Romanism" are attempts to give in brief facts of very wide and very varied import, useful for the casual reader who has little time or opportunity for thorough research rather than for the student.

"Education and Evangelism," by Rev. C. C. Starbuck, of Andover, Mass., is a study based upon the report of the Free Church of Scotland Committee recommending that the schools for higher education be continued, but that additional stress be laid upon evangelistic efforts.

*The Expositor*, Aug., 1891.

"Interpretation of the Life of the Early Church," by Rev. W. Lock, M.A., Keble College, Oxford, calls attention to certain points brought out by modern biblical criticisms in regard to the early

Church. (1) It brings out very clearly the sense of brotherhood implied in its existence. (2) As a result of this, the personality of Christ Himself is thrown into stronger relief.

"On the Moral Character of Pseudonymous Books," by Rev. Professor J. S. Candlish, D.D., discusses the custom of writing books under feigned names, especially in its relation to the attributing of books of the Bible to other than the real authors.

"Lost or Latent Powers of the Five Senses," by Rev. A. B. Grosart, D.D., LL.D., is a discussion as to whether the miracles of 2 Kings vi. 8-17 and St. Luke xxiv. 13-35 denoted the probable aggrandisement of the five senses—arguing from one ("sight") to the other four—when present limitations shall be removed and present circumstances changed.

*The Unitarian Review*, Aug., 1891.

"Did Jesus Claim to be the Messiah?" by Professor J. Estlin Carpenter, is a review of certain points in Rev. Dr. Martineau's "The Seat of Authority in Religion," by one who, sympathetic in the main, is somewhat doubtful whether the application of the methods has not been carried too far. Without undertaking to consider the whole book, special attention is given to the Messianic element in the career of Jesus. According to Dr. Martineau, the claim to be the Messiah was not made by Jesus, but was palmed upon Him by His disciples after His death; and the whole paper is a discussion of this question, with the result on the part of the writer of failure to accept Dr. Martineau's conclusion. He rather believes that Christ, as has been the case not infrequently with noble minds, fed upon what proved to be an illusion; which fact, however, did not interfere in any way with the eternal truths that He taught, nor does it prevent us from entering into the relation He has opened to us between the Soul and God.

"Dissent in Russia," by Cornelia W. Cyr, is a plain, straightforward statement of the position of the Russian Government to the churches, its conception of religious liberty, and the present condition of the most important communities dissenting from the orthodox Greek Church. In general the position of the Government is stated to be that of absolute tolerance of all existing beliefs, but an absolute prohibition of all propaganda except that of the Greek Church. The other churches and religions noted are the Armenians, Protestants (chiefly Lutherans), Catholics (mostly Poles and Lithuanians), Uniates, or United Greeks (members of the Greek Church who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope of Rome), Jews, Mohammedans, and Buddhists.

"Public Opinion in France," by L. Gilard, is a semi-historical sketch of the development in France of a genuine public opinion, which, after all, is the controlling element in the policy of the Government; and a statement of two of the most evident results of its influence—a genuine desire for peace, and indisposition to war, and the shifting of the position of the Catholic Church from one of exterior influence to internal development. The future struggle will not be between monarchists and republicans, but between liberals and clericals.

*The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1891.

The July number of this review is very valuable. Among the discussions of timely topics are "The Idea of a Parochial School"—viz., that it should be the centre of a system of thorough free education: "The Prospect for Irish Home Rule," which, while not as clear as it was, is, neverthe-

less, reasonably sure of attainment; and "The Failure of Native Clergy" as raised up on the foreign field by Roman Catholic missions. There are two papers on the Pope's encyclical, and an article on "The Proofs of the Existence of God; Drawn from the Metaphysical or Ideal Order," and "The Mystery of Christian Marriage." The most valuable, however, are the historical articles on Francis De Montmorency-Laval, Bishop of Quebec; Windthorst, the famous leader of the German Catholics in their fight with Bismarck, and the man to whom, more than to any one else, was due the great German's "return to Canossa," and the chapter on "The Popes and the Temporal Power." This able review should be examined by all who seek to keep posted on Roman Catholic plans and purposes.

#### CONTENTS OF SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES.

**HARPER'S MAGAZINE** for September has these contents: Frontispiece—Beatrice, "Kill Claudio"—illustration for "Much Ado about Nothing," drawn by Edwin Abbey; "Much Ado about Nothing," nine illustrations (including frontispiece) by Edwin A. Abbey—comment on the play by Andrew Lang; the fifth paper of the superb series of illustrations of Shakespeare's comedies; "The New York Chamber of Commerce," by Richard Wheatley, with nine illustrations from drawings by T. de Thulstrup, paintings by Trumbull, and photographs—an interesting and comprehensive history of one of the most influential institutions in this country—its organization—its purposes and methods—what it has accomplished for New York and for the country at large—sketches of some of its most active members; "An Imperative Duty," a novel, Part III, by William Dean Howells; "Letters of Charles Dickens to Wilkie Collins," Part I, edited by Laurence Hutton—familiar letters written during the time of the most intimate companionship and literary co-operation of the two great novelists, now published for the first time; "Peter Dutton," a novel, Part IV, by George du Maurier, with fourteen illustrations from drawings by the author—the wonderful dream-lapse of the hero begins to be developed—how he acquired the art of dreaming "true"—a tragedy; "Glimpses of Western Architecture," Chicago, II., by Montgomery Schuyler, with ten illustrations drawn by H. D. Nichols, E. J. Meeker, and B. G. Goodhue—architecture of other public buildings in Chicago—the Insurance Exchange—the Phoenix building—domestic architecture—residential Chicago, and the peculiar characteristics of some of its dwelling-houses; "A Wheat-field Idyl," a story, by Elizabeth Stoddard; "Germany, France, and General European Politics," by Mr. de Blowitz—a striking paper on the present political situation in Europe, with conjectures and predictions concerning the inevitable outcome; "An Untold Story of the Florida War," by Harriet Pinckney Huse—a reminiscence of the war with the Seminoles, giving an account of the murder of Dr. Perine and the escape of his family in a boat—now published for the first time; "Chinese Secret Societies," by Frederick Boyle—an entertaining history of the most important among the innumerable secret societies of the Chinese; "London—Plantagenet, II., Prince and Merchant," by Walter Besant, with fifteen illustrations from drawings by Harry Fenn and H. D. Nichols—discoveries of antiquaries—medieval London, a city of palaces—Baynard's Castle—Cross by Place—the streets of medieval London—a merchant prince—Dick Whittington—other city worthies—barons and their followers—guilds and trades associations; "Under the Minarets," by F. Hopkinson Smith, with thirteen illustrations from paintings and drawings by the author—the story of experiences and adventures during a summer's sojourn as an artist in the city of Constantinople; "Ill-considered Utterances," full-page illustration drawn by George du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis; Jenny Lind—a self-delusion—the right of privacy—Mozart's music; "Editor's Study," by William Dean Howells; the hour of the short story—criticisms of some recent works of fiction; "Editor's Drawer," conducted by Charles Dudley Warner; Monthly Record of Current Events (to July 15, 1891).

**THE CENTURY** for September has these contents: "Portrait of Thomas Bailey Aldrich," frontispiece; "A Winter Journey through Siberia," George Kennan, pictures by George A. Frost and Henry Sandham, and from a sketch by an exile; "The Wood-Nymph's Mirror," Adirondacks, "Charles Henry Liders," "The Poems of Thomas Bailey Aldrich," Frank Dempster Sherman; "David and Goliath," from a painting by William L. Dodge; "To California in 1849 through Mexico," A. C. Ferris, pictures by F. Remington, E. W. Kemble, W. J. Baer, Gilbert Gaul, and from a photograph; "Elder Marston's Revival," Le Roy Armstrong, picture by Alfred Kappes; "Vigilance," Charlotte Fiske Bates; "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," Henry Cabot Lodge; "The Squirrel Inn" (conclusion), Frank R. Stockton, pictures by A. B. Frost; "Building," John Albee; "The Faith

Doctor," VIII., Edward Eggleston; "Zeki'l," Matt Crim, pictures by E. W. Kemble; "De Mortis Beata," Theodore C. Williams; "Present Day Papers: The Government of Cities in the United States," Seth Low; "A Painter's Paradise," Play in Provence, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, pictures by Joseph Pennell; "Italian Old Masters," Francia, Ghirlandajo, W. J. Stillman, with notes and engravings by T. Cole; "Treatment of Prisoners at Camp Morton," I. A. Reply to "Cold Cheer at Camp Morton," W. R. Holloway; H. Rejoinder, John A. Wyeth, pictures by W. Taber after War-time photographs, plans by Charles Manney, Jr.; "Country Newspapers," E. W. Howe; "The Possibility of Mechanical Flight," by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, S. P. Langley; "Topics of the Time," "The Sub-Treasury Cheap Money Plan;" "Notable Civil Service Gains;" "Progress of Ballot Reform," "Open Letters;" "The Question of Pensions," Frank Bell, M. W. Sloane; "Weakness and Danger of the Single Tax," William W. Folwell; "A British Consul's Confidence in the Union Cause," E. M. Archibald; "A Brotherhood of Christian Unity," Theodore F. Seward; "W. L. Dodge," W. Lewis Frazer; "Greeley's Estimate of Lincoln," "Brick-a-Brac;" "To Jessie's Dancing Feet," W. D. Ellwanger; "The Ill-Omened Crow," V. F. Boyle; "My Sweetheart," M. E. Wardwell; "Exit," Margaret Vandegrift; "Bouillabaisse," H. Tyrrell; "That Note in Bank," W. B. Chisholm; "Tis Ever Thus," R. K. Munkittrick.

**LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE** for September has these contents: "Carlotta's Intended," by Ruth McEnery Stuart; "Julia Marlowe," with portrait, by Alfred Stoddard; "When Love Hath Been," by Susanna Massey; "September," by Bessie Chandler; "Real People in Fiction," by William S. Walsh; "A Murderer for an Hour," by Julius Chambers; "Life," by Douglas Sladen; "A Plea for Helen," by Julia C. R. Dorr; "Thou or I," by Jeanie Gwynne Bettany; "Derby Day on Clapham Common," by Thomas P. Gill, M.P.; "Incense," by Clinton Scollard; "Society in Different Cities," by Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood; "Love's Calendar," by Charles Morris; "Country Roads and Highways," by John Gilmer Speed; "Encouragement for Poets," by Louise Imogen Guiney; "Mrs. Van Brunt's Convert," by Raymond Driggs; "No Tears for Dead Love," by Philip Bourke Marston; "Notes from an Engineer's Camp," by Henry Collins; "To a Cloud," by William Rice Sims; "His Majesty the Average Reader," by Edgar Fawcett; "The Days that are to Be," by J. K. Wetherill; "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

**THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY** for September has these contents: "The Disturber of Traffic," Rudyard Kipling; "Rabiah's Defense," Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Speech as a Barrier between Man and Beast," E. P. Evans; "Song for Settling," inscribed to Karl Dussinger, Melodist, Thomas William Parsons; "Dyer's Hollow," Bradford Torrey; "The House of Martha," XLIV.-XLVII., Frank R. Stockton; "Town Life in Arkansas," Octave Thanet; "A Study of Analogy," John Burroughs; "An Innocent Life," Lillie B. Chace Wyman; "The Quest of a Cup," Alice Brown; "Europe and Cathay," John Fiske; "At the Market of the Dead," Lafcadio Hearn; "Forecasting," Philip Bourke Marston; "The Lady of Fort St. John," IX.-XII., Mary Harriwell Matthews; "Coups of Conscience," Nicolay Grevstad; "The Author Himself," Woodrow Wilson; "A Modern Mystic;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

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**Pierson, Arthur T.** The Greatest Work in the World: or, The Evangelization of all Peoples in the Present Century. New York and Chicago: Revell, 1891. Pp. ii., 62, 12mo, 50 cts.

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**Rackwitz, Max, Dr.** Hegel's Ansicht über die Apriorität von Zeit und Raum und die Kantischen Kategorien. Eine philosophische Kritik nach Hegel's "Phänomenologie des Geistes." Halle a. S.: Pfeffer, 1891. Pp. v., 82, 8vo, 1.50 mk.

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**Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1891.** Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1891. Pp. xxxii., 1069, 8vo.

**Röhm, I. B.** Protestantische Lehre vom Antichrist. Hildesheim: Borgmeyer, 1891. Pp. 224, 8vo, 2.40 mk.

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**Scullard, H. H.** Martin of Tours, Apostle of Gaul. Hulsean Prize Essay for 1890. London: Heywood, 1891. Pp. 200, p. 8vo, 4s. 6d.

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**Teutschlaender, Willibald S., Prof.** Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinden in Rumänien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschthums. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Rumäniens. Bucharest (Leipzig: Fock), 1891. Pp. xxiii, 243, 8vo, 4 mk.

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**Weaver, G. Sumner.** Heaven. (Manuals of Faith and Duty, No. 9.) Boston: Univ. Pub. House, 1891. Pp. 160, 12mo, paper, 25 cts.

**Wischan, F.** Wilhelm Grönnung, Missionar im Telugu-Lande, in Indien. Breklum: Buchhandlung, 1891. Pp. 301, 8vo, 3 mk.

**Wolfsgruber, Cölestin, Dr.** Christoph Anton Kardinal Migazzi, Fürsterzbischof von Wien. 2-7. Lieferung. Sankt: Kitz, 1891. Pp. 97-656, 8vo, each, 1.50 mk.

#### CHRONICLE.

July 13-21. The International Congregational Council was held in London. Delegates were present from all parts of the world. The presiding officer, the Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D., of Birmingham, made the opening address on The Divine Life in Man. The sermon was by the Rev. E. P. Goodwin, D.D., of Chicago. Among the specially important addresses were the following: The Present Direction of Theological Thought in American Congregationalism, the Rev. L. F. Stearns, D.D., Bangor, Me.; Effective Organization of Congregationalism, the Rev. A. Hastings Ross, D.D., of Michigan; The Place of Ecclesiastical Councils, the Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., New Bedford, Mass.; Doctrinal Conditions of Church Membership, the Rev. A. H. Bradford, D.D., Montclair, N. J.; The Place of Congregationalism in the making of Great Britain, the United States and the British Colonies, the Rev. Guinness Rogers, of London, and the Rev. B. M. Fullerton, of Massachusetts, and the Rev. Dr. Jeffers, of Australia; The Needs of Scattered Populations in Decaying Districts, the Rev. Hugh Pedley, of Manitoba; The Attitude of the Church to the Social Movements of the Times, the Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., of Columbus, Ohio, and Ben. Tillett, President of the Dockers' Union (this was one of the most remarkable addresses of the Convention); Federation of the English-speaking Peoples, the Rev. F. Herbert Stead (brother of W. T. Stead, editor of *The Review of Reviews*); Congregationalism and the Church Catholic, Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford; and the Valedictory Address, by Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker. Members of the Council also attended, July 24, the unveiling at Leyden, Holland, of a memorial to John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.

July 21. The one hundred and forty-eighth conference of the Wesleyan Methodists of England met at Nottingham. Action was taken condemning card-playing, and especially criticising the action of the Prince of Wales. Resolutions were also adopted looking toward an abolition of the three years' term of itinerancy.

July 29. The seventy-third annual conference of Bible Christians opened at Plymouth, England.

August 12-14. The twelfth International Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations was held at Amsterdam, Holland. There were about 500 delegates present, representing America (100 delegates), England (100 delegates), Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden, Italy, Russia, India and many other countries. The report of the Rev. Gustave Tophel, of Geneva, for the Central Committee, showed 4151 associations affiliating with that Committee, of which 1305 were in the United States, 800 in Germany, 614 in Great Britain, 387 in Holland, 379 in Switzerland, 223 in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, 92 in Asia, 80 in Canada, 66 in France, 13 in Africa, 9 in Russia. London was chosen as the place for the next world's Convention, which will be held in 1894, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Association.

There has been considerable disturbance in China during the month, culminating in attacks upon several mission stations, notably Wusueh, where the Rev. Mr. Argent, a missionary of the Wesleyan Methodists of England, was killed. Other stations in the valley of the Yang-tze and the Min have also been attacked and some buildings injured, but no other lives lost. Hostility seems to have been specially manifested toward the Roman Catholics. It is generally considered by those best informed that the movement is partly political, as well as social and religious. Continued trouble is not feared.

The Rev. D. M. McIntyre, of Willelsen, has been appointed colleague and successor of Rev. Dr. Andrew Bonar at Glasgow, Scotland.

The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon has continued so seriously ill that his life has been despaired of; but he seems to be recovering, and to have the promise of good health.

The Rev. John Hopkins Worcester, Jr., D.D., of Chicago, has been elected to the Chair of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Professor James Woodrow, D.D., the same man over whom there was the theological controversy in the Southern Presbyterian Church, has been elected President of South Carolina College.

The Rev. Professor Arthur S. Hoyt, of Hamilton College, has been elected Professor of Sacred Literature.

The Rev. George Whitaker, D.D., of Marshall, Texas, has been elected President of Willamette University.

#### OBITUARY.

Ellicott, Gilbert, D.D., Dean of Bristol, at Bristol, England, aged 91.

Hopkins, John Henry, D.D., at Hudson, N. Y., August 13, aged 71; widely known as an ecclesiastical journalist, author and hymn-writer.

Lindsley, A. L., D.D., Professor of Practical Theology, San Francisco Theological Seminary, at Portland, Oregon, Aug. 12. Sheshadri, Narayan, D.D., of Bombay, India, at sea, on his way from New York to Glasgow, July 21, aged 68. One of the first high-caste Brahmins converted to Christianity, and for many years a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland.

Newton, John, D.D., missionary of the Presbyterian Board, at Murree, India, July 2, aged 86.

#### CALENDAR.

Oct. 5. Methodist Ecumenical Conference, Washington, D.C.  
Oct. 13. Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Pittsfield, Mass.

Oct. 14. Consecration of Phillips Brooks, Bishop of Massachusetts.

Oct. 20. Missionary Council of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Detroit, Mich.

Oct. 20. Meeting of the American Missionary Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

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- THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.**  
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- THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW.**  
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SEPTEMBER, 1891.

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